

The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

FEBRUARY, 1910

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"MOTHER JONES"

Addressing the Girl Strikers at Philadelphia

The International Socialist Review

A MONTHLY JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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CONTENTS.

Fighting to Live (illustrated)	- - - - -	Tom A. Price
Revolutionary Social-Democracy	- - - - -	H. M. Hyndman
What's the Matter with Wisconsin?	- - - - -	Henry L. Slobodin
Progress in China	- - - - -	Mary E. Marcy
Our Imagination Against Past Experiences	- - - - -	Odon Por
A Strike in the "Model Village"	- - - - -	M. E. M.
Revolutionary Mining Machine	- - - - -	J. O. Phillips
Barbarous Spokane (illustrated)	- - - - -	Fred W. Heslerwood
Industrialism and the Trades Unions	- - - - -	James Connolly
The Call of Revolt	- - - - -	James Oneal
The Steam Engine	- - - - -	Wm. E. Dixon
Hawaii, the Beautiful	- - - - -	Jack Morton
The Mono-Rail	- - - - -	S. Walsh
The Survival of the Fittest (Poem)	- - - - -	George E. Winkler
The Situation in British Columbia	- - - - -	Dan Sproul

DEPARTMENTS.

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THE INTERNATIONAL Socialist Review

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Fighting to Live

By TOM A. PRICE.



ARRASSED by a subsidized police force which drives them from corner to corner at the behest of their employers, disputing their right to live and move and exercise free speech upon the streets once resonant with the peal of Liberty's bell; lashed by the slave whip of necessity in the hands of manufacturers who grudge them a paltry dole sufficient to keep body and soul together, three thousand girls in Philadelphia are fighting against tremendous odds for the privileges which, according to the frequent boast of American orators, are elementary—the common heritage of all.

It is no longer a question of higher wages, important as that feature of the struggle is and has been from the beginning. It is a question of emancipation from something infinitely worse than hunger, a condition far more distressing than want.

Without sympathy save among those of their own order; without resources; without a knowledge in many cases of our language, much less our laws, these girls have shown a heroism, a devoted self-sacrifice, which should command the admiration of all men. With fear of neither confinement nor bodily harm in their minds they go forth every day to do picket duty under the very eyes of the police whom they know are against them, not only as a matter of policy but as a matter of absolute necessity. They know that it is not possible for a "cop," wearing the uniform of the great "City of Brotherly Love," to permit them to claim a single right which is theirs under the law which no one violates oftener than the very men who are sworn in to uphold its provisions. They know they have no

redress from the insults and the assaults of these blue-coated minions of wealth. They know they must risk violence at the hands of scabs and that they may not oppose force with force without running the risk of spending a night in a cell.

But no girl among the striking shirtwaist operators is daunted by these conditions. Every day deluded workers who have been listening to the insidious arguments of the manufacturers and have remained at their machines are won over to the cause by the cogent, vital arguments of these fearless pickets. It has been found that a plain statement of the



—Philadelphia Evening Times.

STRIKERS NOT PERMITTED TO GATHER BEFORE HALL.

facts will undeceive the most dyed-in-the-wool scab. Is it any wonder, then, that the employers have called upon the police for protection? They need it.

The action of these pickets is noted by the press of the city, with one exception, as brazen effrontery. By the general public—educated as it is by subsidized papers—their action is called a foolish defiance of that still more foolish economic law which would regulate wages rather than rewards by the exigencies of supply and demand.

The policeman at the crossing makes the girls move on. And they

are moving on. Moving on in an ever-increasing army which will undoubtedly snatch the victory from a band of lawless, pitiless, ghoulis capitalists who try to insist that their's is the right to amass money at the expense of a people whose country is called the mother of liberty and the greatest nation in the world.

Magistrates accept accusation as *prima facie* evidence of guilt. And the girls are guilty. They are guilty of thinking and feeling and fighting. They are guilty of demanding that intangible thing that our revolutionary army fought for and which colonial leaders handed down to a nation which



—Philadelphia Evening Telegraph.

GROUP OF PICKETS.

has guarded it so loosely that a few men have been able to place it out of sight in a coffer of gold where the value of its chains make Liberty no less a prisoner.

Strikers here do not riot, although in any day's papers accounts may be read of such occurrences. It is the employer who, in his hours of enforced idleness, incubates conspiracies in his counting rooms and hatches riots on the streets through his paid agents—cowards who would never brave a battle without the assurance that police were ready to protect them as soon as danger should appear.

Under the leadership of heroines like Pauline Moscovitz; cheered in their struggle with want by the impassioned oratory of Mother Jones; urged to fight on by members of other labor unions which are helping them personally and with funds, the girls have become so imbued with the spirit of victory that it would be impossible to call the strike off now even should every leader advise such action. Promises will no longer attract these workers. Probabilities are rejected before they are offered. Nothing will be accepted but the right to live like human beings should live in a humane country.

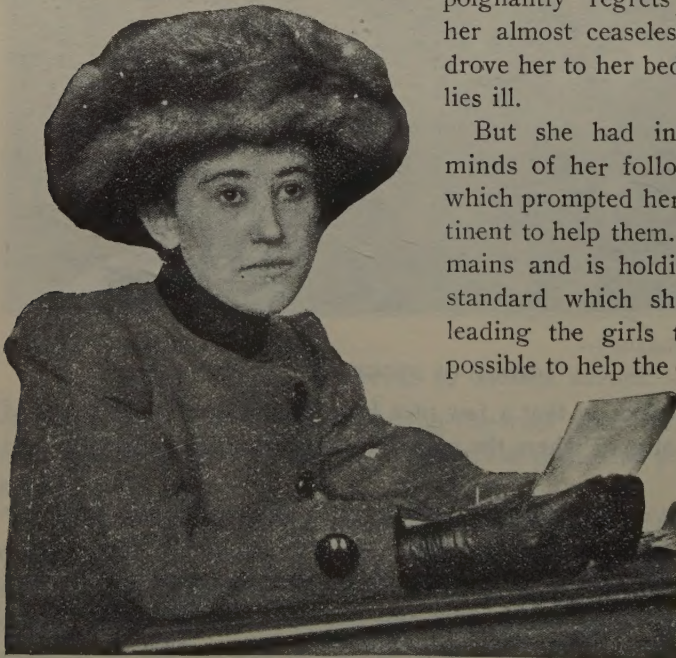
Mother Jones. This little woman whose heart is as big as the nation and beats wholly for humanity, came to Philadelphia while the trumpet was still reverberating after the call to arms had been sounded. Under her bold leadership the fighters were organized before the manufacturers had fairly realized that their workers had at last been stung to revolt by the same lash which had so often driven them to slavery.

In impassioned speech after impassioned speech Mother Jones urged the girls on to battle. Shaking her gray locks in defiance she pictured the scab in such a light that workers still shudder when they think of what she would have considered them had they remained in the slave pens of the manufacturers. Every man and woman and child who heard her

poignantly regrets the fact that her almost ceaseless labors at last drove her to her bed where she now lies ill.

But she had instilled into the minds of her followers the spirit which prompted her to cross a continent to help them. That spirit remains and is holding in place the standard which she raised. It is leading the girls to every device possible to help the cause. Many of

them are selling papers on the street that they may earn money to contribute to the union which they love.



—Philadelphia Evening Times.

PAULINE MUSCOVITZ.

Marie Comaford and Mary Miller, whose pictures accompany this article, have been on the streets constantly since December 22, selling papers every day. Their labor has been so generously rewarded by those who sympathize with the cause that they have been able to turn over to the union large sums every day.

During the first days of the strike those who had entered the battle fought silently, but when tales reflecting on their sincerity of purpose and veracity were scattered broadcast by the sneaking agents of the employers the strikers opened up their hearts to the writer and told him stories of slavery which were almost unimaginable in their horror. Their state-



ments portray a scheme of things such as should bring the blush of shame to the face of every Philadelphian.

I learned that the reptilian employers here send agents to the immigrant ships before they are docked, there to shoot the venom of the sweatshop into the lives of innocent girls who know nothing of the deceit which these men cloak under fur overcoats and a benignant smile. The little hoards of these immigrants have been snatched from their hands and placed in the coffers of millionaires on the pretense that it is an equitable charge for "teaching them the business."

Men as well as girls are mulcted of their all in the same manner. A. Goldfein is one of these. When he entered the "land of the free" six months ago he was accosted by a labor agent and told that he might learn

to be a cutter and make big money if he would pay \$25 for the privilege. He paid the money and was sent to the factory of Beyer, Frank & Company. Here he was assigned to a bench and told that to begin he would receive three dollars a week. He is a grown man, intelligent, and he has been working at that same bench during six months. He still draws three dollars every Saturday night, and no more. It took the man more than eight weeks to earn back the money which he had paid for his job.

And these toilers, after paying for their jobs, are assigned to work in filthy and ill-conditioned factories where the air is foul and there is no adequate sanitary equipment. It is on record that in one of these places there are 250 men and women employed. Two hundred of these are women. Yet there is but one toilet for each sex! And to cap the climax the place is on an upper floor and during the greater part of the day there is not enough pressure of water to carry it into the closets. The sinks are not flushed for hours at a time.

Out of this place workers have been ordered frequently by physicians who tell them remaining means certain death. They go if it is possible to obtain another job. Otherwise they stay, and finally die in their places. These men and women are as much murdered as were the miners who died in their pit at Cherry, Illinois, and the employer is as much a murderer as any other man who slays wantonly.

Health has been driven from the factories by pestilence using the whip of filth. Germs of disease fester and multiply in every crack. Yet the great State of Pennsylvania sits back complacently and sees its Bureau of Factory Inspection in the hands of a group of incompetent jobsters who hold their offices as payment for the crimes they have committed for the party in power. Manufacturers receive word long before hand when an inspection is to be made and the place is cleared up for the occasion. This happens only once or twice a year and in some instances the factories are never even swept at other times.

Child labor laws are laughed at. Children of any age may work if they will. Places are provided where they can stunt their growth and dwarf their minds by sitting at a bench all day for the purpose of earning the price of one lunch eaten by the manufacturer who washes down each mouthful of food with a gulp of the blood of his victims. Factories are inspected but the inspectors never see these children. Regular hiding places are maintained for the tots. Big packing cases are kept in the lofts. As soon as the word is passed up that an officer is on his way to go through a farcial travesty on an inspection the little ones are made to get into the packing cases, which are then turned so the open side will be towards the floor.

These little girls are among the most ardent of the workers for the cause. They do picket duty and are at all times ready to instill life and hope into the mind of any doubter who may have been induced by implied threats to remain at work. In winning to the cause the women of public note who have given their aid to these girls have played an important part. Speeches made by them at various meetings of women's clubs have met with ready response in every instance.

If ever the competitive system was shown to be archaic, unscientific and utterly unequal to the demands made upon industrialism as it now exists in the world, we have a striking example of its futility in this city—a city of great private fortunes, immense enterprises and almost unprecedented productiveness.

Only last summer we were assured that as soon as the tariff question was settled by the "law-makers" at Washington—"law-makers" who devoted their efforts mainly to what we are told was the protection of home industries—an era of peace and plenty would dawn. Capital, assured of a reasonable profit, would strike hands with labor certain of an adequate wage.

The question was settled and we have been waiting for the dawn. We are still waiting. Labor was never before so restless or so poorly paid, the cost of living considered, and capital was never before so arrogant in its own conceit, so grudging of the dole it provides for the creators of wealth.

The striking shirt-waist girls are between the upper and the nether mill-stones. They must not only fight the wolf of hunger, forever nosing about their doors, but they must combat daily a subsidized police force which, fawning upon the man who has, browbeats and bullyrags, at almost every corner, the girl who has not.

As an observer on the ground I am not unduly impressed by the affected sympathy of certain society women for the toilers. I have seen these fads flare up and fade away before. I have studied the society woman somewhat on her native heath.

She figures more gracefully, to my mind, as center rush at a bargain counter onslaught than as a protagonist of labor. Like women of another class, whom we do not mention in the drawing rooms of society, she has a past which inspires little or no confidence in her professions. I speak of the professional society woman. Of course there are good women among the socially elect, just as there are bad women among the members of the workers' army, but exceptions prove nothing, not even a rule.

Miss Anne Morgan, daughter of J. Pierpont Morgan, a most estimable spinster, I am informed and believe, seems to have received a faint

glimmer of reason, a glimmer that may develop into a full flame later on. I hope so. She is credited with a resolve to start a shirt-waist factory with a million capital and run it on the profit-sharing basis. Miss Morgan with her father behind her might make a go of such an undertaking, but profit-sharing between a private capitalist and a retinue of employes is a half-way measure at best. It tends to breed condescension on the one hand and on the other it brings out the worst traits of human nature, sycophancy and dependence. It destroys initiative and promotes individual inertia.

Co-operation is better and is a decided step in advance, but the trouble is co-operation proves too much for the dilitante philanthropists. Their interests are centered in private graft, miscalled individualist, and they know that a real success along such lines is likely to provoke inquiry among the "proletariat."

"If," the man of common sense is apt to inquire, "co-operation is a success on a small community scale, why would not government co-operation be a good thing for the people as a whole?"

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they the slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this depotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.—Communist Manifesto.

Revolutionary Social-Democracy.

THE CURSE OF COMPROMISE IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY H. M. HYNDMAN.



WHAT I feared and predicted would happen with the Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party, here in Great Britain, has unfortunately taken place. In order to make sure of retaining their seats in the House of Commons at the General Election, both the Labor Party and the I. L. P. have come to terms with the Liberals in a manner which must shake all confidence in them in future. When a body of men, returned to Parliament to represent labor interests exclusively and independently, enter upon a whole series of bargainings with the national and local organizers of one of the great capitalist factions, not for the purpose of gaining social advantages for the laboring class, but to assure political and personal benefits for themselves, they do an amount of mischief to the whole movement which I am quite ready to believe they do not fully comprehend.

Now, so far as I am concerned, I am quite ready to admit that, if by the help of Liberal votes in the House of Commons, it were possible to obtain that most important, perhaps, of all our stepping-stone, or palliative measures for the existing competitive anarchy, namely, the complete organization of all unemployed labor co-operatively by the state on useful work, thus taking "the fringe of unemployed labor" off the market, it might be well worth while to sink the class antagonism, for the moment, so as to gain this immense boon for the disinherited majority. But I hasten to say that no capitalist government of any kind, in any country, will honestly enter into such an engagement with the intention of carrying it out in letter and in spirit. This for the simple reason that to take such a course would mean the cutting of the ground from under the feet of capitalism in the immediate future. Still, assuming such an arrangement to be possible, I should certainly consider any Labor Party justified, in backing the government that proposed to enter into it, if sufficient security for good faith were given.

Similarly, in regard to the maintenance of children at public cost, in our elementary schools, out of public funds. One of the very greatest difficulties we have to encounter in this country, in the way of education, is that very large numbers, in some districts the majority, of the children who attend the public elementary schools are quite insufficiently fed and clothed to be able to take advantage of the education gratuitously pro-

vided. Here again, therefore, if any government would undertake to introduce and pass a compulsory measure enforcing the adequate feeding and clothing of the children, as part of the educational work, I should applaud the Labor Party for supporting the administration which brought forward such a bill, whole-heartedly and ungrudgingly.

Consequently, I have no blinding prejudice against agreements of a temporary character with the dominant plundering class, provided something important is to be gained for the people at large; although, of course, I am as well aware as the most intransigent of impossibilists that even children of the workers who are well fed, well clothed, well housed and well educated only grow up to more effective wage-slaves for the capitalists under the conditions of our time. That fact does not, however, check me for an instant in advocating that which I believe to be exceedingly beneficial to the whole community and tending to bring up men and women more competent, physically as well as intellectually, to push ahead the social revolution.

It is, nevertheless, to my mind absolutely indispensable to maintain, even so, the attitude of distrust and antagonism, when some partial advance is being secured. The class war is going on all the time: the enemy is still the enemy, even when, for his own ends and to save his own skin, he gives way upon this or that point. "No compromise" must be our motto and our policy from the first and all through. Let us take all we can get, but never let us sink our principles, or lower our flag, for any consideration whatever. Least of all let us do so to gain some mere political advantage, or to keep brigaded in our ranks numbers of men and women who do not accept the revolutionary socialist creed or recognize Social-Democrats as their brothers in the greatest struggle the world has ever seen. Such people, however well-meaning and humane they may be, are ready-made tools for the political intriguer and the capitalist wire-puller. They will go over in masses to the enemy when the fight gets really hot: not because they are intentionally treacherous or constitutionally cowards; but because they have not grasped the principles of Socialism; because they have not understood that between the capitalist class (with its sleeping partners, the landlords) and the wage-earning class no peace is ever possible except through the complete victory of the latter; or, because they fondly imagine that there is some nice, ethical, evolutionary method of making twelve o'clock at eleven by dexterous manipulation of hands on the dial of social progress. But whatever may be the cause of their backsliding their defection will be equally disastrous—as it is proving to be in Great Britain now—to those who are foolish enough to rely upon mere numbers, irrespective of conviction, for victory, and who will persist in believing that the capitalist pirates are at heart overflowing with the milk of human kindness,

That is why I have always said in England, and say again now in America, that I would far rather be fighting as one of a resolute army of ten thousand convinced and determined revolutionary Social-Democrats, who are content to achieve eternal life in the glorious future which their work and death will help to hasten on for mankind, than I would spend my days in pretending that paltry political successes, gained by a motley mob of a million confused and wavering wage-slaves who are content to hug their chains and glorify their subsidized "bosses," are worth striving for. And I say this as an old man of 68, with just upon thirty years of unremitting and wholly unremunerated Socialist propaganda behind me. I cannot hope myself to live to witness the realization of the great material ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth, spreading nationally and internationally throughout the civilized world. But I know with the certainty of scientific conviction that its coming is not far ahead and that by the intellectual action of class-conscious capacity upon social conditions humanity will conquer forever its mastery over the means of creating wealth and gain for all time the power of uplifting the individual human being to a level undreamed of hitherto.

Holding these views as the necessary foundation of our Socialist religion, it is easy to understand that I look with sadness, not unmingled with contempt, on the manner in which the Socialists of the Labor Party have surrendered to the capitalist Liberals on the budget, on the House of Lords and on the General Election. I cannot blame men like Henderson, or Shackelton, or Hodge, or others of the trade union leaders. They have never pretended to be Socialists. In fact, they have directly repudiated the imputation. They want to get what they can under capitalism; they have no sound economic basis for their political action: their independence means a quarter-of-the-way-horse laborism and nothing more. Very well. I know where these men are. I respect, though I deplore, their honest limitations. They have been and to a large extent are still Liberals and Radicals; cursed, many of them, with a Nonconformist conscience and a teetotal fetichism of the most narrow kind. Naturally, such men at a critical juncture "go Liberal" as Grant Allen's cultivated negro "went Fauti." It is the call of the blood.

But this excuse is not available for the avowed Socialists of the Labor Party. They are never weary of insisting upon the purity of their Socialism, especially at International Socialist Congresses, at the International Socialist Bureau and at public meetings, national and international. Nay, they claim, nowadays, to be in the direct apostolic succession from Marx and Engels, who are called up from their graves to bear witness to the impeccable revolutionism of Keir Hardie, Ramsey Macdonald, Philip Snowden and the rest of them. And Bernstein and Beer chant

an amen chorus in various languages, as inspired prophets of Israel voicing the opinions of the dead.

Now I do not wish to weary the readers of the *INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW* with the details of English politics; but it is worth while to consider for a short space the sort of budget, the set of financial proposals, which our Socialists of the I. L. P. regard as "Socialistic," and so favorable to the Poor Man that the members of the Labor Party, one and all, are justified in voting for it and in sinking their own independence in the Liberal Party in order to carry it. And here I would interpolate the statement that no Socialist can admit the right of the House of Lords to throw out the House of Commons budget, however bad it may be in principle, or in application. They had no right to interfere with it or to obstruct it in any way. But that is not the point. The question before genuine Socialists is: "Was there, could there be, anything in Mr. Lloyd George's budget which justified the Labor Party in bowing the knee before the more unscrupulous and designing of our two great capitalist factions?" Let us see.

The Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer had to cover a net deficit of £13,000,000, after deducting £3,500,000 from the sinking fund. Now, out of this £13,000,000 he is raising at least £7,000,000 by extra taxation not of the luxuries of the rich but of the trivial luxuries still left to the poor. But the cost of the Old Age Pension of five shillings a week for every necessitous worker who arrives at the age of 70 is also about £7,000,000. So that Mr. Lloyd George, the intimate friend and guest of Lipton, the wholesale grocer, and Brunner, the great chemical manufacturer, makes the workers of Great Britain pay for their own Old Age Pensions out of their already miserable wages. Nobody disputes this. Everybody knows it perfectly well. Yet Keir Hardie, Ramsey MacDonald, Philip Snowden, etc., call this a "Socialistic" budget, a "Poor Man's Budget," take credit for having suggested its provisions to Mr. Lloyd George, and arrange with the Liberal government not to oppose them in their electoral contests on the strength of it.

"But that is not all. There must surely be something more in the budget than that." There is. But it is nothing new and nothing beneficial to the workers. The £6,000,000 of taxation, at the outside, imposed upon the rich as against the £7,000,000, at the very least, levied from the poor is mere burden-shifting. There is an increased income tax, a super-tax, an increased death duty and a small, very small, tax on unearned increment. George II has taken a diminutive leaf out of the book of George I. Henry George is reincarnated in Lloyd George with reductions in intellectual weight. This, however, according to our new light of Socialism, is "the thin end of the wedge" towards Land Nationalization. Noth-

ing of the kind. As I argued out with Henry George himself in St. James' Hall and in *the nineteenth century* five and twenty years ago, the whole thing is mere burden-shifting and will not benefit the wage-slave class one atom. I don't suppose there is a single Socialist in the United States, or in any other country except England, who would contend that taxation of unearned increment, or confiscation of rent, is anything approaching to Socialism in any shape or way. It is strengthening the capitalist, who is the wide-awake slave-driver against the sleeping slave-driver, the landlord. Yet here we have our Independent Labor Party Socialists headed by Keir Hardie—whose language about myself is worthy of the atmosphere of religious rancor in which he was brought up—bowing the knee to the Liberal capitalists, applauding Viscount Asquith, Lloyd George, Churchill and the rest of them, and concluding open bargains for their seats, on the strength of a budget which I do not hesitate to declare is as outrageous a fraud upon the people of the United Kingdom as any swindle which even the Liberals have as yet perpetrated—and that is saying a very great deal.

Let me sincerely hope that this will be a warning to the workers of other countries. Not only in America, but on the continent of Europe, there has been far too much inclination to regard a seat in Parliament, no matter how got or how retained, as the great end and aim of working-class agitation. If you win a seat you are a great man. If you don't you are of no account. It was quite amusing to see the effect produced upon many of the Labor Party here, and not here alone, when they put M. P. after their names. They at once assumed they were authorities on all sorts of subjects they knew nothing whatever about. They imagined that their intellect had expanded when it was only their heads which had swelled. But they also got to believe they were "statesmen," who could ride the whirlwind and direct the storm of capitalist politics. And a pretty mess they have made of it all. They have discouraged the workers of this country to an extent which is not even yet fully appreciated and they have taken a most dangerous step towards re-absorption in the capitalist-Liberal faction.

I hope sincerely this will serve as an "object lesson" to our comrades in the United States who are inclined to venture on the same slippery path. It will throw back their movement many a long day if they do. We are working for the greatest cause the world has ever known. We ourselves are dignified by being privileged to take part in such a struggle. It is for us to take care that we hand on the torch of revolutionary Social-Democracy, kept alight for us by the sacrifices, sufferings, disasters and death of our noble predecessors, burning the brighter for our efforts, to those who shall in turn take up the splendid task from us.

Bromley, Lancashire, December 29, 1909.

What's the Matter With Wisconsin?

By HENRY L. SLOBODIN.



HAT'S the matter with Wisconsin? Is it not the place of the grandest Socialist organization in America? Have not we, Socialists, made it the Mecca of our movement? Is it not where the "Wisconsin idea" was born? Is it not finally the abode of Comrade Berger? And yet——

We believed in Wisconsin. Wisconsin was to the American Socialist movement the pillar of fire in the night and the cloud of smoke in the daylight. Wisconsin comrades were the envy of other Socialists doomed to live outside of the blessed regions. Such was our belief in Wisconsin. We believed that while the Socialist movement of other States was still wandering in the desert of capitalism, the Wisconsin Socialist movement was storming at the very gates of the Socialist Commonwealth.

But what a rude awakening!

Comes the Department of Commerce and Labor and with impious hand works havoc amidst our cherished illusions. In the bulletin entitled "Labor Laws of the United States," 1908, it shows in characters bold and pitiless that Wisconsin labor laws are as bad and in many cases worse than those of States barren of the "Wisconsin idea" and foreign to the presence of Comrade Berger. Yes, it is a cruel, pitiless fact. And that is why we exclaim:

What is the matter with Wisconsin?

What answer can we give to the deriders of the "Wisconsin idea" when they point to Wisconsin's want of an employer's liability law? Such a law has become a necessary asset of every State where labor's voice is heard, never so weak. Oklahoma heads the list with its Article IX of the State Constitution that so far is the most radical enactment on the subject. Then comes old Massachusetts, with New York, Porto Rico and Ohio and other States which simply re-enacted the Massachusetts law. Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, all have employer's liability laws. But not Wisconsin. It has a railway liability law. But that is another thing. Every State in the union has one in addition to the employers' liability law.

Again the "fellow-servant" doctrine was limited in its scope by legislative enactment in the following States: Minnesota, Arkansas, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Texas and Utah. Nothing was done in Wisconsin. There the crippled workingmen and the families of those killed at work are still the victims of that bloody, ancient doctrine holding full sway.

Nineteen States have ordained that no employee shall be coerced in trading either in company's stores or elsewhere. Only a victim of the trucking system can fully appreciate the importance of those measures. But this victim will find no protection in Wisconsin.

Twelve States, as well as the United States, have declared by law that contracts by which an employee waives his right to damages for personal injuries shall be void. This is a protection which every modern State extends to the workingmen. The State of Wisconsin leaves the workingmen helpless to the capitalist chicanery and coercion.

Many States, including our own corporation-ridden New York, passed laws limiting the hours of labor on public works. In Wisconsin the freedom of the workingmen to work as many hours as starvation dictates to him is unlimited.

A number of States have a prevailing rate of wages laws for public works. In Tammany-smitten New York the law was declared unconstitutional. The constitution was amended and the law was re-enacted. In darkest Wisconsin no one heard of such a law.

Wisconsin yields the honor to the Philippine Islands and to the Federal government of a workman's compensation act for government employees; to Nevada and Montana of a union label on public printing law; and to almost all the State in the provision of time for the workingmen to vote.

What honor may Wisconsin claim over other States? None whatsoever.

* * * * *

Workingmen exploited; workingmen whose rights are trampled under foot; workingmen crippled at work; families of workingmen murdered at work, may console themselves with the great "Wisconsin idea" and the glory that is Berger's in and out of Wisconsin.

This is the Wisconsin idea, that Socialism means politics; that politics means election of your candidates; that in Rome you must elect your men as the Romans do.

This is the idea of revolutionary Socialism, that Socialism means the revolt of the working class against capitalism and wage slavery; that affrighted capitalism will yield to the class-conscious working-class reforms, which it will not dream of yielding to mere politicians—Socialist

or other; that the Socialist party is in politics with the object of arousing the class-consciousness of the working class primarily and electing aldermen as a means to an end.

We live in a practical age and we are all practical men. I am with Roosevelt on that. We all want practical results. Our ideas and our methods must be tested by the infallible criterion of results. Measured and tested before the forum of results, the Wisconsin ideas and methods are the most impractical, the most visionary, ever promulgated by a responsible Socialist organization. That Comrade Berger should seriously urge these ideas and methods for adoption by other States shows that there is nothing the matter with his nerves, thank you. Comrade Berger's success also shows that our comrades know a great deal that is not so. Of his success there can be no doubt. He has got the National Executive Committee, National Secretary, the entire national office mesmerized, hyptonized, magnetized to do his bidding. It is time that the revolutionary Socialists get together and show Comrade Berger and other opportunists that they, too, know a thing or two about practical politics.

On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost, because we are no longer socialists. The strength and power of socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle; that the laboring class is exploited and oppressed by the capitalist class, and that within capitalist society effectual reforms, which will put an end to class government and class exploitation, are impossible.—Wilhelm Liebknecht, in *No Compromise*.

Progress in China.

BY MARY E. MARCY.



ECONOMIC Progress is not marching but fairly running in China to-day and it is almost impossible for us to keep well informed of the far-reaching changes that follow at her heels.

Yellow journalism is just now the sensation of the day and every Chinese newspaper is sold five times. In the morning it is read in the homes of the rich. In the afternoon it passes on to the dwellings of the less prosperous. In the evening it is sold to those still lower in the financial scale and within a day or two has passed down to the poorer families which are able to read.

The cartoon reprinted here is from a Chinese newspaper and serves to illustrate the change in the attitude of the people. Formerly, the newspapers declare, China looked upon the outside world through the wrong end of the glasses, but now she has learned properly to regard her sister nations.

We have heard so many accounts of the Celestial Empire from our point of view that it is rather interesting to know how the Chinese formerly regarded us.

One traveler reports that a prominent Chinese who visited America declared that our table manners would fill any "civilized being with disgust"; that we ate great hunks of raw beef and devoured our food by means of knives, resembling for all the world the "sword-swallowers."

"It is terrible," he said, "to see these barbarians in their moments of recreation. Often the men seize the women and drag them around great rooms for hours at a time to the tune of the most hellish music."



They are disgusted, too, at the respect many Americans accord the army and the police. In China a soldier and a policeman are lowest in the social scale. And the hatred of the people for a policeman is really noteworthy. Evidently the constabulary in the Empire is much like the police forces in other places; only, in China, these men pay large sums of money to secure their jobs. They receive no salary, so that it is evident they get an income in other highly objectionable ways.

SILK WORMS.

Formerly all the work of reeling and spinning from the cocoons was performed by hand, but at present machinery is being used largely. After the China-Japanese War steam spinning mills were installed. The material for supplying all the new mills was inadequate, so many Chinese peasants set to rearing great quantities of worms. But the supply of mulberry leaves, on which the worms producing the high grade of silk, subsist, ran short and many of the farmers had all their work in vain.

The worms fed upon oak leaves produce the raw silk from which *ecru pongee silk* is made.

Nearly all the Chinese farmers own their own land, which rarely passes out of a family. The sons who marry bring their wives home and the old folks and the young ones live together.

In Southern China the farmers often raise four crops a year upon their land. The land remains always rich and productive, for the people spend almost as much care in fertilizing as in sowing it.

Now that the Empire has awakened to a realization of her immense mineral resources many of those poor farmers whose land covers great beds of coal or rich copper or iron deposits, will find themselves very wealthy.

FOOT-BINDING.

In China, as elsewhere, the necessity to work has always been regarded as a disgrace among the leisure classes. The more useless a Chinese aristocrat proved himself and his household to be, the more honored became his name. The feet of the women were tightly bound in childhood and the finger nails of both sexes were permitted to grow several inches in length. This assured the world that they could not do any useful work even if they so desired.

But with the new methods of production and the subsequent changes in every other sphere, China has produced her "antis". There are anti-reformers, anti-educationalists, anti-progressionists, and now they have an Anti-Foot Binding Society. "Antis" to the old and "antis" to the new.

The Pekin Woman's Journal, a daily paper edited by a Chinese

woman, is largely devoted to educational matters and is a strong supporter of the anti-foot binding movement.

A story is told of a missionary who was very loud in denouncing the Chinese foot binding. "But," said an astonished Celestial, "your own women bind up their WAISTS."

When the railways were first built in China, men and women who had carried commodities from place to place, to earn a living, found their old customers patronizing the railroads.

Then the plotting began. An ancient Chinese belief held that if a member of a family which had been wronged by an enemy, killed himself upon the enemy's grounds, failure would attend the undertakings of wrongdoer.

Coolies began to kill themselves upon the doorsteps of men known to be connected with the railroads. Some stabbed themselves and others were hired to drown themselves in the enemy's cistern. But the railroads were extended; new roads were laid out. The company prospered. Evidently the belief of their revered ancestors was in error. Thus one by one the old superstitions are passing away.

Very naturally, there exists to-day a strong opposition to the new régime in China, and many are the predictions of a revolution in the Celestial Empire in the near future. We do not think these predictions will be verified.

The initial steps of the introduction of machine production are usually followed by an era of prosperity to the majority of the people. It is only when competition grows keen and trustification sets in that a really revolutionary army of the working class arises that will usher in the new day of economic freedom.



HAND OF CHINESE ARISTOCRAT.

Our Imagination Against Past Experiences

BY ODON POR.



MAETERLINCK expressed a very profound truth when he said that we should not limit ourselves to the experiences of history. "What history confirms and what it denies moves in an insignificant circle. The truth lies much less in our reason, which is always turned toward the past, than in our imagination, which sees farther than the future."*

Indeed, historical considerations and comparisons and the measuring of the aspirations of the present generation against the experiences of previous epochs resolve themselves, as a rule, into a judgment condemning the living desires. Most of the arguments against socialism are based upon historical facts. All paralyzing doubts as to the practicability of socialism come from a too detailed investigation of past life. People who see clearly enough the truth in socialism will call it a hopeless Utopia, backing their argument with endless facts, that seemingly go to prove that socialism is unrealizable, and will not consider at all that these facts correspond to past social structures, past states of mind, past aspirations, past desires and past activities.

It is true that many institutions established in the past are still existing. But is it also true that they still hold their old spirit? Are the formative forces of the present bent upon maintaining the past? Certainly not.

A new social spirit is inspiring those who work on the erection of a new society. This new spirit calls for new institutions, the outlines of which are unmistakably laid down in the various forms of the organizations of the on-struggling masses. These have no interest whatever in maintaining the institutions of the past. Many among the struggling have even lost all understanding of these institutions, which, therefore, seem useless in their eyes.

New desires have sprung up that demand new forms of embodiment. The people, fraught with this new desire, have lost all connection with the past. They do not understand what the historian, the economist or the politician means when he says that the lower classes of the past were never capable to build a new order of society, that man's nature has manifested itself throughout known history as fundamentally competi-

* Maurice Maeterlinck: "Notre Devoir Social," in the volume *L'Intelligence des Fleurs*. Paris, 1907.

tive and that therefore a social harmony is unimaginable. They can not understand these arguments because they are conscious of a tremendous force within them that desires a social change on social lines. They are conscious of the collective potentiality of their class destined to uplift mankind. And then they simply do not want to compete. Why, then, should competition be a fundamental law of their nature?

Only those let themselves be advised by the past who do not feel the forces of the future. Can those who do not feel the forces of the future be helping in rebuilding the future? Never.

The people who do not feel the future do not desire it. They intellectually might see the institutional outlines of the future society, but they never can realize in themselves its spirit. And this, in the last analysis, means that they do not understand the cohesive forces that urge us on toward the future.

We, the revolutionary socialists, project our social will into the future. This will, thrown ahead by the powerful mental stress it holds, acts as a magnet and draws us toward itself. Nothing draws us back towards the past. So strongly we imagine the future life in all its details, as suggested by the life with our comrades, that we practically live in the future. There is a continuous flux and reflux of sensations and forces, created by our life for the ideal and by our action for socialism. Our personal experiences substantiate our ideals. Smaller experiences of solidarity make us see greater experiences on the same line and bring us nearer to the great ideal. The ideal gradually becomes easily attainable, practical and so to say living. And by living in the future we are realizing the material structure and the spiritual content of the future state of things in our actual life.

We have no interest whatsoever in the past and only those contemporaneous facts hold our imagination which contain in nucleus some facts or attitudes which suggest the future. Many facts of the past die off without any violence, for the spirit which has enlivened them is dead. Many past institutions, however, hang on obstinately to life. These have to be abolished by force and with decision. We must do away radically with the past that we in no way may fall back into some attitude that has flourished during the past.

The individual will not develop his character and faculties by continually going back and taking counsels from his past experiences. He will develop a strong personality only when he will perseveringly strive for a certain set scope that he sees fully enfolded in his imagination. A man will come to be the man of his ideal by energetically projecting the picture of his ideal-man into the future and by unceasingly endeavoring to realize it. A man without imagination will never grow out of his present-self. He will remain on some comfortable average level.

The collective imagination of the socialist movement has made more socialists and created more socialist institutions and called forth more forms of organizations than any other factor that has produced the socialist movement. If the socialist were not projecting the sensations of collectivity received in the movement into the future, wherein he imagines these sensations fully developed and working at full speed, he never could bring to the movement that peculiar faith in the collective efficiency that helped, in its turn, to build out the movement. In other words, the socialist plunges himself into the future and comes back to present actual activities strengthened and hopeful. He brings back with him the forces of the future wherewith he shapes the present society. He rejects the forces of the past. He cannot find anything creative in them.

Where socialists have followed the worn ways of political and social activities, where they have yielded to the temptations of the old institutions, there socialism has made the least progress, and there the socialists are unable to cast off those forms of social attitudes which are the creation and depend on these institutions.

These unimaginative socialists try to work with the forces of the past. And at every step they make the past is towering before them obstructing their direct path, making them return or take the longer side-ways.

Many socialists have succumbed to the temptations of the parliaments. They thought that through transforming this dead institution of the past they might create a new means wherewith to shape the future. We, however, have come to realize that we cannot build an entirely new society of the old material.

What we have attained through parliamentary activity is but an insignificant economic and political improvement. Through legislating we have not laid down a single basic stone upon which to erect our future society. All existing institutions and attitudes suggesting the socialist society and the socialist spirit are the results of the direct collective, and, in most cases, economic activity of the working class.

The revolutionary union movement in the Latin countries has done, during the last year, more toward preparing the advent of socialism than the legislative activity of the different socialist parties within the last thirty years.

Revolutionary unionism has created and tried new forms of activities, like the general strike with a social aim in view; it has called out the anti-militaristic feeling in the working classes, not only in France and Italy, but all over the world. Through their revolutionary economic attitude the French workers have shown us how to reach socialism on the straightest route without compromise, without ever taking a side-

way. Through the anti-militaristic propaganda and their active resistance they have practically demonstrated how to get at the root of the power of the ruling classes and how to cut it off.

These are all new arms, new methods of fighting for the future. They are created by the collective consciousness of the working class in its own power. These methods have been worked out in the daily practice of the struggle for socialism and have been suggested by the imagination of the active revolutionist who, projecting himself into the future, has realized that in the future society the voluntary discipline of the workers will be the motive power of progress, that the collective decision of the freely associated workers, conditioned by the inner tendencies of the economic activity, will govern the life of the collectivity.

The revolutionary union movement in France and Italy has indicated that the industrially organized workers are ready to take over all the industries without the intermediary and slow process of social legislation. It has abolished the last remnants of the fetish of the directing ability of the capitalist class by, first, demonstrating the inefficiency of the capitalists to run the industries for the benefit of the collectivity, by showing that capitalism, through forcing strike movements and lock-outs, is endangering and demoralizing the industries and is disturbing the peaceful course of social life; and, second, by creating their own constructive industrial organizations which within a few years, especially in France, have attained almost a controlling power over capitalism and the state.

The parliamentary socialist who believes that socialism, by increasing the socialist vote and elevating the number of socialist representatives in the national and municipal legislative bodies, will gain a corresponding influence over the affairs of the collectivity is too apt to hesitate and doubt.

His parliamentary activity in and outside of the parliaments calls forth in him a parliamentary nature. He cannot escape the state of mind of the parliamentarian. In other words, he will enter into compromise and consider the economic and political interests of the other classes with whose representatives he must co-operate in order to realize the slightest social reform. He loses the collective consciousness which the class struggle has created in him and consequently he loses his faith in those whom he represents. Therefore he becomes apt to believe that the present governing classes are after all more fit to run the affairs of the collectivity than the working class.

While the parliamentary socialist will not confess to this, his actions will always betray him. Thus it happens that the consideration of the interests of the ruling classes is always in the foreground, and

the interests of the workers and adapted to the interests of the capitalists.

The parliamentarians always want to compensate the capitalists for the losses they eventually have to suffer by some social legislation. So it happens that we really do not make any headway. We take on the one side and we give on the other. The parliamentarian never considers that present economic revolutions rob, day in and day out, great masses of workers of their means of subsistence and of their profession by introducing new methods of production and new labor-saving machinery.

Who compensates the workers? Has any legislative body granted a pension to the thousands of glass-blowers who recently found themselves without work and without a trade when the Owens glass-blowing machine was introduced? Would the representatives of the capitalists make, in such similar and very frequent cases, laws providing with ample pensions the workers who lost their trade? Certainly not.

Then why should the revolutionary workers take into consideration the acquired and vested rights of the ruling classes? Why should we pay any respect to the capitalist institutions? Why should we leave the old barriers and raise others, obstructing the passage to socialism, that, after all, will not leave the present parasitic classes without the means of subsistence but will assign to them work, according to their abilities and compensation according to their needs?

Why should we go ahead step by step when we are suddenly robbed of our means of subsistence? When we think on strictly economic lines, then the absurdity of this proposition becomes quite clear to us. The idea of compensating the capitalists and the delicate efforts to save them from a sudden economic change by a "wise" and slow social legislation originates in a political scheme of social evolution, which is in direct contradiction with the real economic tendencies and the actual mode of transformation that proceeds chiefly on industrial lines.

The idea of slow political evolution would never occur to the workers if they were left alone. They know very well that socialism will be born from the inevitable direct industrial conflict carried out between the capitalist class and the working class. The workers know the capitalist class through and through from their daily direct contact with it and realize that the capitalist class will aggressively defend its interests when the time comes for a decisive turn in social legislation, looking to the expropriation of the expropriators. The worker asks himself, why should he engage all his energies in the political organization and the political fight when ultimately his own personal resistance and aid will be called upon? It occurs to him that it were far more practical to train his industrial capacities and build up his collective consciousness

and individual power of resistance which ultimately must swing the balance.

Take one characteristic feature out from the numberless facts that in my mind proves that the consideration of existing rights and the continuation of activities rooting in the institutions of the past will mislead even a socialist who at the bottom of his heart wants to be a revolutionist. Historical considerations will make the socialist swerve from the road of straight action. Letting himself be weighed down by the failure of the previous generations of social revolutionists, he will begin to hesitate and will try to strengthen his own class by an alliance with other classes or parties.

Whereas, letting himself be inspired by present vital activities and by the shapes of life that indicate the future, he will bring fresh and copious forces and constructive convictions to the movement, from which then a constructive revolutionary activity will inevitably ensue. He will not hesitate but go straight ahead. He will never think the working class inefficient to realize its ideal, for he will feel himself powerfully drawn into the work for the future. He will not seek compromises for he will be conscious of his superiority when combined in the struggle with his comrades. He will not sever revolutionary thought from socialist activity. He will not entrust another person with the upbuilding of the socialist society or he will not join hands with the representatives of other social classes in order to realize social progress, but he will engage himself in its actual construction. He will put the passion of creation in his socialist work and will foster the growth of this passion by continually deepening it through his direct activity. He will strive for the future with all his life and will have no moments of weakening hesitation that come from the workings of reason informed by the facts of the past.

The past investigated in the light of the future, however, may yield some useful information. It may show us, above all, why man has failed always when he strove for a social state of things. It may show us that the absence of collective consciousness is responsible for the failure of the social endeavors. And thus a right historical sense may reinforce our conviction that we must reject those institutions and activities of the past which have resulted from class fights for a class-rule and were not born from the efforts of a class struggle inspired by collective consciousness and directed towards the realization of a classless state of things. It may show us that our social consciousness, thrown into the future by our intensified social imagination, has to devise new means for the new social order as it has formed in us new sentiments and new desires. It is unimaginable that we may establish new social attitudes

through the aid and upon the basis of old institutions corresponding to past state of minds.

"Let our reason," says Maeterlinck, "strive to soar above experience. Let us continue, in spite of all disenchantment, to act, to love and to hope as though we had to do with an ideal humanity. This ideal is only a vaster reality than that which we behold."

"Let us listen only to the experience that urges us on: it is always higher than that which throws or keeps us back. Let us reject all counsels of the past that do not turn us towards the future."

"It is, above all, important to destroy. In every social progress, the great and difficult work is the destruction of the past. We need not be anxious about what we shall place in the stead of the ruins. The force of things and of life will undertake the rebuilding. It is but too eager to reconstruct."

We should always act as though we were masters of our destinies. Indeed, is not the collective will now germinating in us the long sought free will? Is there any social or individual obstacle which a determined collective will could not lift? Can not the collectivity mould the shapes of nature and the nature of man at its will? Is not the collective social will, in last instance, the limitless intensified union of all the numberless individual wills and desires? Can anything obstruct the happiness of humankind if it actually wills its happiness?

Has not, according to Lowell, the solidarity of the Marsian population thrown into servitude impassive Nature when it has forced the melting snow and ice at the poles of its globe to follow the bed of the dug channels that run across the whole surface of Mars? Has this their solidarity not forced the melting ice to fertilize their country, making a garden of their desert? Is not solidarity, then, free from all bondage and all-powerful?

Let us cultivate a sense of mastery. Then we will also grow the organs of the sense of mastery. But when we hesitate and let other people do our work and our thinking, and let other people try to master our destinies then we shall never unfold those individual capacities which are indispensable components of an efficient collective will. Inactivity is not merely a stop but it is also a retrogression. In order to keep social desires and impulses fresh and formative we must engage them in action. When we desire to master our life and that of the collectivity then we must actually try to master the various shapes of life, without ever doubting our own efficiency. A consciously cultivated sense of mastery will make us find the ways to mastery and will make us ultimately the masters.

A Strike in the "Model Village."

By M. E. M.



We live in Company houses,
And the Company runs the schools,
We are working for the Company,
'Cording to the Company's rules.

We all drink Company water,
We all burn Company light,
And the Company's preachers teach us
What the Company thinks is right.

This is one of the old complaints of the employes of the Ludlow Manufacturing Company, for be it known that Ludlow is a company-owned village. But, alas! "the Model Village," lauded in the press and on the platform, has now been the scene of a strike lasting over seventeen weeks.

The reformers have been telling us—as well as the company officials—that certain members of the Manufacturing Associates "felt some moral responsibility in making the living conditions of their employes such as would tend to develop good citizens." And so, a few miles outside of Springfield, Mass., the company purchased a large tract of land and "built" some five hundred "model" dwellings. The entire village is practically owned by the Ludlow Company. The company also put up two churches and a common school where the children employed in the works could attend evening classes, or, as is the case in many instances, attend a half day school session and spend the other half working.

The company owns the water works, lighting plant, library and gymnasium. It also owns the savings bank which the employes are expected to patronize. "The company dominates local affairs, economic, social, intellectual, moral and political" (from the New York Survey).

"One of the three selectmen of the village, however, is independent enough to assert that his vest and trousers are his own; but he is typical of such a monumental minority as to be the lonesome though refreshing exception which proves the rule. Outspoken opponents of the company are eliminated as far as possible. The Associates freely acknowledge notifying a physician and Polish storekeeper to move out of their business block because of their resistance to the will of the company. The Ludlow plants are thought to represent only a very small part of the holdings of the Ludlow Manufacturing Company, which controls over ten large mills.

During the panic of 1907 the company at Ludlow cut the wages of the

creel boys from \$5.50 a week to \$5.00. The cut was accepted temporarily as a "hard time necessity." On the same grounds the weavers in the bagging department received a reduction from 29 to 24 cents a roll of 100 yards.

After the enactment of the new tariff law the workers naturally expected a restoration of the old wage scale. This was not forthcoming. The refusal of the bosses to grant the old wage scale precipitated the strike which has lasted for several months.

The company has persistently prophesied that the men would resort to violence and by night a great search-light plays up and down the river and into every chink and cranny of the village. Pinkertons and other special guards numbering several hundred men do picket duty day and



EVICITION SCENE IN THE MODEL VILLAGE OF LUDLOW.

night. "The guard is unreasonably heavy, for the strikers have refrained notably from extreme measures." * * *. A town official told a writer for the Survey that "there had been fewer arrests during the strike than in any similar period under ordinary conditions."

As usual the company has been importing scabs to work in the mills and has announced a further reduction in the wages paid the weavers, who formerly received 29 cents a roll. The new scale will give them only 20 cents, or less.

This strike and the conditions prevailing in Ludlow are the very best sort of an example of what the capitalist class means by "welfare work" for its employees.

The only possible benefit to be gained by these company-owned "model villages" accrues to the employers. By owning the houses rented to its workers, the companies are able to evict the striking or discontented men upon the slightest pretext. Further, it becomes unnecessary for the company to pay its employes wages sufficient to enable them to pay high rents (including a profit to the landlords). In other words the "welfare work" of the Ludlow employers enabled them to retain all the surplus value created by the workers there. The company did not have to divide up with the landlord or the sellers of the other necessities of life.

A notice posted by the company to the effect that "the houses had been built for workers in the mills, those not resuming work must move out promptly to make room for others desiring work," did not have the effect desired—of forcing the men to return to their jobs. And for the past month Ludlow has been the scene of the most pitiful evictions. Servants of the "welfare workers" marched from house to house throwing the poor little furnishings of the men into the street. It is reported that neither illness nor confinement cases escaped the "benevolent" eye of the company, but one and all were set out exposed to the severe weather.

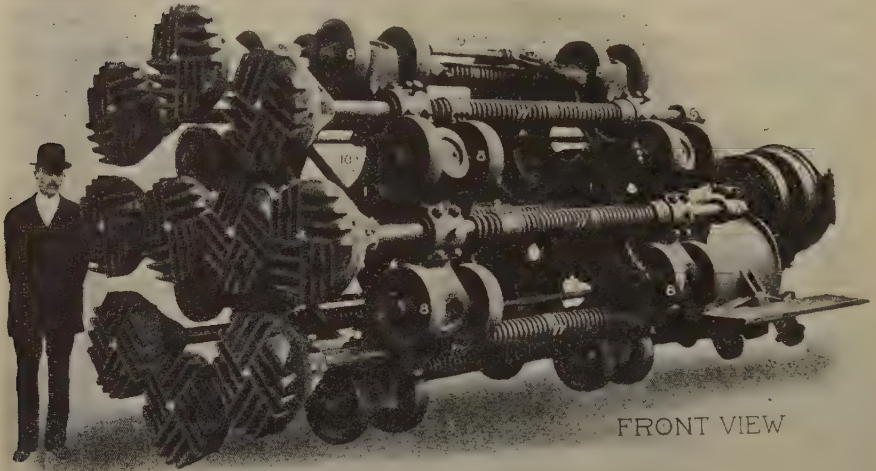
The most inspiring aspect of the whole strike is the splendid courage displayed by the workers. Hemmed in on every side by rules and regulations and Pinkertons of the company, they steadfastly refused to submit to a further reduction in wages, which meant a still lower level of existence to them and their families.

As long as there is a class that preys, the class exploited and preyed upon will continue to struggle for emancipation. Man seeks pleasure and avoids pain and largely in this fact lies the hope of the human race.

THE RIGHT TO WORK.

Under the conditions that now seem permanent and well assured, the workman is fairly certain of two things in respect to this boasted right. He has the right to go from place to place and ask for work, and if he finds no one who will take his services at living rates, he has a right to go to the poorhouse for support.
—Clarence Darrow, in *The Open Shop*.

Revolutionary Mining Machine.



IF the Sigafoos Tunnel Machine proves to be as practical as the manufacturers claim it is, it will be bound to create a revolution in the mining industry. Not only does the new machine eliminate the dangers ever attendant with drilling and powder and dangerous blasting, but the Sigafoos people claim also that it will tunnel through the hardest granite and the largest mountains with the greatest ease, at a much lower cost than by the old methods.

"Mr. Sigafoos built his bodel three years ago, and until the present day it is on exhibition in his offices.

Early in January of 1909, the first regular-sized machine was constructed in the East and shipped complete to Georgetown, Colo., where the first contract was let and its behavior eagerly watched. In every instance the rotary proved its value, and came up to the highest expectations. Mr. Sigafoos stands ready to take contracts with his machine in any and all rock and will guarantee to cut from one to two feet an hour, twenty-four hours a day.

The machine complete, ready for work, weighs 29 tons and its length is slightly in excess of 18 feet. This huge frame holds ten crushing heads, each carried on a four-inch horizontal shaft and working on the same principle as a stamp mill, with the exception that the blows are given with the aid of springs instead of force of gravity. The entire fore part of the machine revolves as it cuts, thus cutting a

full, clean bore, all the muck being flushed from the tunnel by means of a 3-inch stream of water, carried directly through the machine under 40 pounds pressure, and fed through ten small nozzles, each of which sends a stream beside each crushing head. This constant revolution of the machine is its strong point, the body being run on a series of "foot" wheels, thirty-two in all. The axles of these wheels—they are set in pairs—are arranged so they may be set at will, preventing the wheels from tracking. A simple twist sets them at an angle, and thus the whole machine moves forward or backward not unlike a huge screw.

Of the monster crushing heads there are ten, eight on the outside of the revolving front and two in the center. The cam has a long, barrel-like hub, which permits the center shafts being brought back without interfering with the others. Diametrically opposite cutters strike at the same time. The springs which lend the force to the blows are 5 feet long, 6 inches in diameter, and composed of a specially chilled inch steel. These cutting or crushing heads as they should be called—for the machine works on the principle of pulverizing the rock instead of cutting it—are 2 feet in diameter, the face of each being composed of a series of blunt teeth. These heads revolve about the axis of the machine as they strike, thus producing a grinding motion to the surface of the breast.

With an 8-inch drop these heads strike a blow of 4,000 pounds one hundred times a minute. This means that a total of from two to four million pounds is expended against the breast of the tunnel every 60 seconds. It is estimated that if each head penetrated but the thickness of a sheet of common writing paper at a blow, it will cut in at the rate of an inch a minute. In fact, the harder and more stubborn the rock, the more easily the machine will do the work. . . .

Scarcely any timbering will be needed as the machine cuts the walls as smoothly as dressed marble instead of shattering them as is done with powder. Powder and fuse will be done away with and the work will be done without the least danger. . . .

If, as will often be the case in boring a long tunnel, a "pay streak" is encountered, the muck washed out by the water can be run onto a large concentrating table at the mouth of the bore, a separation made then and there, and all value saved.

The machine is not limited in its work to starting into a hillside on virgin ground; it can easily be taken to pieces, carried any distance, and lowered into a shaft, to be at once set up in a drift ready for work.

It may not be amiss to state that the famous Moffat road will probably use these large rotaries in cutting its great tunnel through

the mountains. In places today where the road ascends and descends mountains, it is expected within a short time to eventually bore through them, cutting down the time from coast to coast fully twenty-four hours. The contractors, before learning of the new machine, allowed ten years for the completion of this gigantic undertaking; but today, with a sufficient number of tunnel rotaries at work, two years will not be an impractical limit.

The immediate uses to which this machine can be put to work are innumerable. Subways that formerly took five years to construct can now be run for half the expense in one-tenth the time. Water in unlimited quantities can be brought through the mountain walls, and the vast arid areas of the deserts will be made to blossom as a wonderful garden."—*Scientific American*.

Along with the tool, the skill of the workman in handling it passes over to the machine. The capabilities of the tool are emancipated from the restraints that are inseparable from human labor-power. Thereby the technical foundation on which is based the division of labor in manufacture, is swept away.—*Capital*, Vol. I, page 459.

Barbarous Spokane

By FRED W. HESLEWOOD.



NOT Mexico, but Spokane—the battleground of the greatest fight for Free Speech, Free Press, and Public Assemblage in America.

Where over four hundred men and women of the ranks of labor, using the weapons of Passive Resistance, are pitted against the law of brutality, tyranny, oppression and greed. Where the ancient methods of torture are being used to subdue the workers, who wish to safeguard the weapons of the dispropertied, disfranchised—yes, disinherited class. Where truth is crushed to earth, and where a lie is a wholesome morsel, and is relished by the arrogant and ignorant who do not want the truth. The truth hurts. It is a two-edged sword. It must be driven to the hilt. The people must be torn from their lethargy and made to realize that the boasted liberties of this country are fast being taken away. Yes, with such rapidity that it will not be surprising to many to awake some morning and find no papers but the subsidized press, representing the economic interests of the master class; the workers barred from every street, and every public hall. We will converse in whispers, and meet with a chosen few in some back room or in the cellar, to talk over our miseries, and the glorious days of old when we could go on the public street and expose the robbing methods of the agents of the master class (the employment sharks), tell the workers how they were being daily robbed; tell them also how to organize to overthrow the existing order of things; how labor creates all wealth, and has nothing; and those that do nothing have everything. Will such days



BEATEN UP BY THE POLICE.

come in America? They are dream days now in Spokane, and Spokane is in America.

With our paper confiscated by the police, who, when asked, why such action, replied: "Well, we have them and that is answer enough." With our own hall, where the rent was well paid in advance, closed by the police, and every hall in the city locked against us; our money being no good; with every street where the workers congregate, closed against free speech; with the officers and editors wearing ball and chain; with the capitalist lying press, free to pour out its damnable lies against our members and our organization; to brand the helpless victims of the masters as criminals, vags., hoboes, etc.; where men meet in groups and bitter mumblings can be heard, while the fat, sleek and well fed profit monger revels in his "filchings from labor" on Canon hill, while those who made him rich are lying on the bare floor in a jail, slowly starving; their emaciated bodies which try to rise, after 30 days of torture, and which would soften the heart of a Nero to behold; stripped of everything but their revolutionary ideas (the one thing the masters want to take but have failed); such are conditions in Spokane.

You may say I draw on my imagination; that I exaggerate; that we want sympathy. That such conditions do not exist in Free America. I say in answer that the conditions cannot be exaggerated. The sufferings cannot be told. The human language cannot express it. This periodical would be suppressed for using obscene language if all was told. The truth is hell. There is no need to lie. Newspaper reporters have described conditions among the prisoners as frightful in the extreme. One young reporter for the Evening Chronicle (the twin sister of the Morning Liar), the Spokesman Review, stated over his own signature, "If men had murdered my own mother, I could not see them tortured as I saw the I. W. W. men tortured in the city jail." Yet their crime consists of speaking on the street. Some did not speak. Scarcely any got more than "Fellow Workers" out of their mouths. The judge asked one young fellow if he was speaking on the street, and he replied, "No." The judge then asked him if he intended to speak. He replied, "Yes." Thirty days and \$100. Next! replied the judge. One hundred and three got this dose the first day in a court of justice (?) and then the long fight to maintain life on less than two cents' worth of old, dry bread a day, with no bed, no blankets, alive with vermin (which infests the city jails), with brutal guards, with the steam cells where men stood in their own offal, and were crowded so tight that they could scarcely breath; yet so tight that the strength of several policemen was required to force the great, air-tight door shut against the human mass of thirty-six men. Where in three minutes of this torture, the men were wringing wet with perspira-

tion, and in two hours they began fainting from the excessive heat, and falling on each other; where the pleadings of the men to the police were in vain; from this to ice-cold cells with windows left open. Would you weaken, Mr. Reader? Would you only say you would renounce the I. W. W. and get free from all this torture? These men did not. Their hatred for capitalism has only increased. If they did not fully realize the power of property rights over human rights, they do so now; but they



CHIEF OF POLICE SULLIVAN.

did know. They were all revolutionists against the system that makes paupers at one end and the "best people," the millionaires, at the other.

All this suffering and torture for wanting to tell the truth on the public street—to have the same privileges as the Salvation Army. Special laws were enacted for the Salvation Army; special laws for religious organizations, and special ones for the Industrial Workers of the World.

The Salvation Army will never hurt capitalism, therefore they can tell of the love of Jesus to the slave; they can beg money and old clothes for the victims of the masters. They can tell of the downy wings and streets of gold that await those who are contented with suffering on earth. As long as the Salvation Army and the other Bible pounders don't bother the streets of gold on earth, the boss will never object. Talk about peace on earth, but don't shut the cruel valve on the four-inch steam pipe that is fast sapping all vitality from the men, until they fall a deadened mass.

The police are being eulogized by the big capitalist dailies, for the very humane way in which they handled the Free Speech prisoners. The Spokesman-Review especially lauds these human beasts, and says great honor is due to them, because not a blow was struck, a window broken, or a man killed. Then the editor of this capitalist spew forgets himself and in his anxiety to give the news, prints the report of Dr. O'Shea, who treated the prisoners. The following clipping is taken from the Spokesman-Review, of January 3rd:

I. W. W. SICK TREATED, 344.

Dr. John H. O'Shea, Emergency Surgeon, Renders Report.

The sick report of I. W. W. prisoners who were held in the city jail and attended by Emergency Physician John H. O'Shea has been completed and shows that there were 334 men on the hospital list and that Dr. O'Shea gave 1,600 treatments. None died.

Dr. O'Shea figures that if he had received the customary fee for the treatments and prescriptions he would be drawing a few thousand dollars at least from the I. W. W. The time extended over sixty days and the cases attended to were exclusive of the regular run of accidents and jail cases. As gratitude one of the "workers" sent a postal card a few days ago calling Dr. O'Shea "the horse doctor," and only a few hours later one called him by telephone to get an affidavit in aiding them in preparing a suit against the city.

The report speaks for itself. Does it show any brutality? Who are these 334 men? What do you suppose the treatments consisted of? Nearly every man had to be sent to this horse doctor, inside of thirty days. What made them sick? The majority were men who never knew a day's sickness in their lives; great, big, husky men from railroad camps, from tie-cutting camps, and from lumber woods; men who have always had to eat the coarsest food and take the hardest knocks in life. Many men came straight from the logging camps in Montana, Idaho, and Puget Sound. Some of the men from the coast, that the writer is acquainted with, threw down their tools, called for their time, and went to Spokane to fight for Freedom of Speech. They were skilled men, drawing the highest wages in the camp. They deposited over \$1,400 with the union

secretaries, before going on the street to speak, leaving instructions to use every cent of it if necessary. One man donated \$50 to the defense fund and deposited \$100 more, which was all he had, to be used if required. In thirty-four days he came from the horse doctor a living wreck, scarcely able to crawl, and said that Judge Mann had fined him \$100; that he now wished the union to accept the money that he had left on deposit, to be used in giving hospital treatment to those who were in a worse condition than himself. He stayed around a day or so to regain some of his former strength, then off to the woods to hunt a master.

Some of the men only had four or five dollars. Some had \$20. Some had \$50, but all had money. They are hoboies, vags, and undesirable citizens; they should have taken their money to the jail and allowed themselves to be robbed by the thugs in blue, who formed the slugging committee in the dark corridors between the booking window and the cells. These men of honor that smash men's jaws, blind men, knock them down and kick their ribs in; these honorable brutes who squeeze men into an air-tight cell and then coolly open the steam valve. These human hyenas who gently tell you that they have orders to kill the first man that says a word back to them. These human beasts that are responsible for 1,600 treatments of green capsules to men with broken jaws, broken ribs, blinded eyes, etc. Green capsules to men who are starving, to increase the pain in the stomach. An emergency hospital. God save the word. A cell alive with vermin, where men are placed on a bare iron cot without even a blanket. With a doctor that should be carrying a policeman's club. None died. Wonderful! Had there been no labor or socialist press in America, they would all have died. The men were never carried to this capsule doctor until the police were getting afraid of having dead men on their hands. These treatments were to keep them from dying, at the same time increase the suffering. This horse doctor, as the boys call him, would have several thousand dollars coming if he got the customary fee. There is no doubt but what he would have got several hundred dollars, had the men turned their money over to the honorable gentlemen that compose the police force.

About one hundred prostitutes were arrested in one raid a few months ago in Spokane, in cheap hotels and lodging houses (the police said they were prostitutes, and they know). These women were taken to the jail and searched, and over \$1,400 was taken from them. They were fined the next morning by the honorable judge the sum total that the honorable police found on them. They were then marched to the railroad depot and given a ticket to Pasco, Wash. There is no harm in being a prostitute in Pasco.

The Spokesman-Review stated next morning that the city treasury

had been fattened to the tune of \$1,400. The I. W. W. has reduced the fat about \$50,000 worth. The police are now searching for more prostitutes.

The Review says that one of the "Workers" called up Dr. O'Shea on the telephone to try and get an affidavit to be used in preparing a damage suit against the city. That is true. We have a number of damage suits which, if justice can be had, will thin the treasury that the prostitutes are continually required to fatten.

The man that wanted the affidavit from the horse doctor did not get it. His jaw was smashed in three places by an honorable policeman's club, while passing from the booking window to the cell.

He was five days in the sweat box and ice cold cells alternately, before the men could induce the police to get a doctor to bandage it. Not a blow was struck. None died! The Spokesman-Review says so.

"By God, the men that done the deed,
Were better men than they."

—Kipling.

Better than a cruel editor who coolly sits down and writes falsehoods and vilifies to protect a band of law-and-order thugs.

These are the people that hate the red flag, "because it means anarchy." They love the stars and stripes because they stand for "Freedom?" They are the exponents of law and order, justice and equality. They believe in equal right to all and special privileges to none. They love God. Verily, patriotism is the last refuge of scoundrels.

The law. The law must be upheld. Taft can speak on the street, and pack it for blocks—yes, so tight that workmen could not get home to their dinner. He was not put in the sweat box. He was not even arrested, although the ordinance was in effect at the time. William Jennings Bryan spoke on the street and blocked it. The Chamber of Commerce is the power behind the law. The Chamber of Commerce wrote the speech for Taft, when he spoke on the streets of Spokane. Taft held up a bundle of papers and said, "This was handed to me by the Chamber of Commerce, and you will have to stand for it." As it was impossible to move for two hours, we stood for it. The Spokesman-Review says the people don't want to have the revolutionary harangues of the I. W. W. speakers rammed down their throats. Hundreds of people did not want to have the harangue of the Chamber of Commerce rammed down their throats by Taft, but they had to stand for it. Here is the keynote of the whole thing. The "best people," those who fatten off the toil of slaves, do not want the workers to hear the truth. It is not the working class that is kicking. It is the profit monger. The fact that over 5,000 workingmen stood to have the I. W. W.

teachings rammed down the throats in one year in Spokane shows where the knife was cutting. The color of the flag is only subterfuge. It is a handy thing to use when appealing to the prejudices of the people. One flag is as good as another for the workers if it increases the size of the pork chops. A dish cloth will do.

It is the lumber trust and the employment shark that wish to squelch the I. W. W. The Mayor believes that he can pacify the workers by revoking the licenses of several of the employment sharks, but the I. W. W. says that they must all go, and if we can win this fight for freedom of speech, they will all have to go, and they know it.

Over three thousand men were hired through employment sharks for one camp of the Somers Lumber Co. (Great Northern) last winter to maintain a force of fifty men. As soon as a man had worked long enough to pay the shark's fee, the hospital dollar, poll tax, and a few other grafts, he was discharged to make room for more slaves, so that the fleecing process could continue. These different fees are split, or cut up with the bosses. In most cases these fees consumed the time of several days' labor, when the men were then discharged and paid off with checks ranging from 5 cents and upwards. The victim of the shark in the most cases gets the check cashed at the first saloon, and takes a little stimulation. Why not? What is life to these men? What is there in life for them? The strong, barbed-wire whiskey makes things look bright for awhile. Then the weary tramp to town with his bed on his back. Back to Spokane, the slave market for the Inland Empire.

He hears the I. W. W. speakers on the street. The glad tidings of a great revolutionary union. An injury to one is an injury to all. Workers of the world, unite, you have nothing to lose but your bed on your back. You have a world to gain. Labor produces all wealth, and those who produce it are tramps and hoboes. This gets to him. A new life for him. He will go through hell for such a union with such principles. He has gone through hell in Spokane, and has given his last cent. He is soon coming back, and then again and again if necessary, until the truth can be told on the streets.

Five thousand joined in one year in Spokane. They tied up the drives in 1907, in Montana, and let the logs go to blazes, until the bosses got on their knees and begged them to go to work. They did go to work. They saved what logs did not get past the saw mills. They forced \$10 a month more wages from the Amalgamated Copper Co. They forced the hours of labor down to nine hours per day. They left fifteen million feet of logs high and dry in the Flathead valley in Montana last spring. The bosses would not come through with the money and the shorter hours of labor. The logs are there yet on the bank. The water is gone, but there

will soon be more water in the spring time, and the question will again come up, of more money, less hours, or no logs.

The masters say they like unions if they are run right, but the bosses do not like the I. W. W. They like the unions they can handle and leaders they can buy. We have neither. There are lots of such unions in America, but the I. W. W. is not one of them.

People are sending in money from all over America to care for the sick and injured, and feed the families of those who are wearing ball and chain on the county rock pile. The following letter is characteristic of the methods used by the I. W. W.:

IONE, ORE., Jan. 7th, 1910.

Fellow Worker:

A demonstration meeting was just held in Sheep Camp No. 1, there being three present, a herder and two dogs. The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That we send \$10.00 for the free speech fight in Spokane.

Yours for liberty,

THOS. J. ANDERSON,

P. S.—Stay with it. I'm coming.—T. J. A.

The cash was enclosed.

With all the brutality of the Spokane police; the suffering of the prisoners; the screaming of law and order; the blatting of preachers; and the denunciations of labor fakirs, not a man has been arrested for breaking the ordinance prohibiting freedom of speech. One hundred and three men were arrested on November 2d, the opening day of the fight, and the police booked them for breaking the street-speaking ordinance. The judge ordered the police department to change the charge to disorderly conduct, and there has been no disorderly conduct unless he meant disorderly conduct on the part of the honorable police.

It was evident that they did not wish to prosecute under the ordinance. Officers who were drawing pay as secretaries of the unions were arrested for vagrancy. The same charge was made against members selling the "Industrial Worker" on the street. They all had money.

In the suppression of the paper, the closing of the hall, the slugging of members, etc., those who worship and love the law, proceeded under the law of brute force only. They throw their own laws out if they are not fast enough to obtain results.

On November 2d, 1909, Judge Mann delivered himself of the following:

"The right to speak on the street or any other place is inherent. It is a natural right. It is a gift from God that every man is supposed to have. Some who are so unfortunate as to be deaf and dumb are eliminated from possibilities. But every man under the laws of nature and the laws of the universe, is born of the ability to speak when and where he chooses,

in so long as he does not interfere with the interests of others, and the rights of others.

"I have no question in my mind as to the validity of this ordinance. I think that under the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of our State, and our city charter, that this ordinance, not only with reference to the class legislative clause that has been argued at length, but in reference to other clauses by reason of its absolute prohibitive powers bordering, in my mind upon the monarchical form of law, I think the ordinance is unconstitutional and invalid."

After this the Chamber of Commerce met. The charge was altered from breaking an ordinance to disorderly conduct.

Three hundred and thirty-four men were treated in the emergency hospital. There were 1,600 treatments administered. None died! Spokane, the city beautiful!

THE CITY BEAUTIFUL.

By JACK PHELAN.

Behold!

She sits upon a pile of offal!
Polluting the fresh waters at her feet,
While, 'round her head the four winds that meet
Grow noisome from her putrid breath. Yea, awful.

Look!

Her marts are groaning with the golden grain
That flows, to her from many fertile plain,
Yet, famine gnaws her vitals, night and day,
And lo! her fairest must take harlot's pay.

Listen!

The cry of children, swine and cattle,
Commingling in one vast rattle.
While hordes of men she calmly sweeps
In the composts of her value heaps.

Hark!

The din of shops, the whirr of wheels,
See sly death stalking each worker's heel
And the only choice for him who fails
Is work-house, poor-house, mad-house, jails.

Hurrah!

She well rewards her chosen few
Purple lady, and slum house shrew.
Fakir and statesman of ill report,
Judge and journalist, actor and sport.
And at the head of her favorite list,
The wanton, hideous capitalist.

Hush!

Not Sodom, Pryne nor Jezebel!
Will name her name,
So, call her Hell.

Industrialism and the Trades Unions

By JAMES CONNOLLY.



IN the second part of my book, "Socialism Made Easy," I have endeavored to establish two principles in the minds of my readers as being vitally necessary to the upbuilding of a strong revolutionary Socialist movement. Those two principals are: First, that the working class as a class cannot become permeated with a belief in the unity of their class interests unless they have first been trained to a realization of the need of industrial unity; second, that the revolutionary act—the act of taking over the means of production and establishing a social order based upon the principles of the working class (labor) cannot be achieved by a disorganized, defeated and humiliated working class but must be the work of that class *after* it has attained to a commanding position on the field of economic struggle. It has been a pleasure to me to note the progress of Socialist thought towards acceptance of these principles, and to believe that the publication of that little work helped to a not inconsiderable degree in shaping that Socialist thought and in accelerating its progress. In the following article I wish to present one side of the discussion which inevitably arises in our Socialist party locals upon the mooted question. But as a preliminary to this presentation I would like to decry, and ask my comrades to decry and dissociate themselves from, the somewhat acrid and intolerant manner in which this discussion is often carried on. Believing that the Socialist party is part and parcel of the labor movement of the United States, and that in the growth of that movement to true revolutionary clearness and consciousness it, the Socialist party, is bound to attract to itself and become merger and teacher of elements most unclear and lacking in class consciousness, we should recognize that it is as much our duty to be patient and tolerant with the erring brother or sister within our ranks as with the rank heathen outside the fold. No good purpose can be served by mildly declaiming against "intellectuals," nor yet by intriguing against and misrepresenting "impossibilists. The comrades who think that the Socialist party is run by "compromisers," should not jump out of the organization and leave the revolutionists in a still more helpless

minority, and the comrades who pride themselves upon being practical Socialist politicians should not too readily accuse those who differ with them of being potential disrupters. Viewing the situation from the standpoint of an industrialist I am convinced that both the industrialist and those estimable comrades who cater to the old style trade unions to such a marked degree as to leave themselves open to the suspicion of coquetting with the idea of a "labor" party, both, I say, have the one belief, both have arrived at the one conclusion, although they have approached that belief and conclusion from such different angles that they appear as opposing instead of aiding, auxiliary forces. That belief which both share in common is that the triumph of Socialism is impossible without the aid of labor organized upon the economic field. It is their common possession of this one great principle of action which impels me to say that there is a greater identity of purpose and faith between those two opposing (?) wings of the Socialist party than either can have with any of the intervening schools of thought. Both realize that the Socialist party must rest upon the economic struggle and the forces of labor engaged therein, and that the Socialism which is not an outgrowth and expression of that economic struggle is not worth a moment's serious consideration.

There, then, we have found something upon which we agree, a ground common to both, the first desideratum of any serious discussion. The point upon which we disagree is: *Can the present form of American trade unions provide the Socialist movement with the economic force upon which to rest?* Or can the A. F. of L. develop towards industrialism sufficiently for our needs? It is the same problem stated in different ways. I propose to state here my reasons for taking the negative side in that discussion.

Let it be remembered that we are not, as some good comrades imagine, debating whether it is possible for a member of the A. F. of L. to become an industrialist, or for all its members, but we are to debate whether the organization of the A. F. of L. is such as to permit of a modification of its structural formation to keep pace with the progress of industrialist ideas amongst its members. Whether the conversion of the membership of the A. F. of L. to industrialism would mean the transformation of that body into an industrial organization or mean the disruption of the Federation and the throwing of it aside as the up-to-date capitalist throws aside a machine, be it ever so costly, when a more perfectly functioning machine has been devised.

At this point it is necessary for the complete understanding of our subject that we step aside for a moment to consider the genesis and organization of the A. F. of L. and the trade unions patterned

after it, and this involves a glance at the history of the labor movement in America. Perhaps of all the subjects properly pertaining to Socialist activity this subject has been the most neglected, the least analyzed. And yet it is the most vital. Studies of Marx and popularizing (sic) of Marx, studies of science and popularizing of science, studies of religion and application of same with Socialist interpretations, all these we have without limit, but of attempts to apply the methods of Marx and of science to an analysis of the laws of growth and incidents of development of the organizations of labor upon the economic field the literature of the movement is almost, if not quite, absolutely barren. Our Socialist writers seem in some strange and, to me, incomprehensible manner to have detached themselves from the everyday struggles of the toilers and to imagine they are doing their whole duty as interpreters of Socialist thought when they bless the economic organization with one corner of their mouth and insist upon the absolute hopelessness of it with the other. They imagine, of course, that this is the astutist diplomacy, but the net result of it has been that the organized working class has never looked upon the Socialist party as a part of the labor movement, and the enrolled Socialist party member has never found in American Socialist literature anything that helped him in strengthening his economic organization or leading it to victory.

Perhaps some day there will arise in America a Socialist writer who in his writing will live up to the spirit of the Communist Manifesto that the Socialists (Communists) are not apart from the labor movement, are not a sect, but are simply that part of the working class which pushes on all others, which most clearly understands the line of march. Awaiting the advent of that writer permit me to remind our readers that the Knights of Labor preceded the A. F. of L., that the structural formation of the Knights was that of a mass organization, that they aimed to organize all toilers into one union and made no distinction of craft, *nor of industry*, and that they cherished revolutionary aims. When the A. F. of L. was organized it was organized as a dual organization, and although at first it professed a desire to organize none but those then unorganized it soon developed opposition to the Knights and proceeded to organize wherever it could find members, and particularly to seek after the enrollment of those who were already in the K. of L. In this it was assisted by the good will of the master class, who naturally preferred its profession of conservatism and identity of interest between Capital and Labor to the revolutionary aims and methods of the Knights. But even this assistance on the part of the master class would not have assured its victory were it not for the fact that its method of organization, *into separate crafts*,

recognized a certain need of the industrial development of the time which the K. of L. had failed up to that moment to appraise at its proper significance.

The K. of L., as I have pointed out, organized all workers into one union, an excellent idea for teaching the toilers their ultimate class interests, but with the defect that it made no provision for the treating of special immediate craft interests by men and women with the requisite technical knowledge. The scheme was the scheme of an idealist, too large-hearted and noble-minded himself to appreciate the hold small interests can have upon men and women. It gave rise to all sorts of bickerings and jealousies. The printer grumbled at the jurisdiction of a body comprising tailors and shoemakers over his shop struggles, and the tailors and shoemakers fretted at the attempts of carpenters and bricklayers to understand the technicalities of their disputes with the bosses.

To save the K. of L., and to save the American working class a pilgrimage in the desert of reaction, it but required the advent of some practical student of industry to propose that, instead of massing all workers together irrespective of occupation, they should, keeping their organization intact and remaining bound in obedience to one supreme head, *for administrative purposes only*, to group all workers together according to their industries, and subdivide their industries again according to their crafts. That the allied crafts should select the ruling body for the industry to which they belonged, and that the allied industries again should elect the ruling body for the whole organization. This could have been done without the slightest jar to the framework of the organization; it would have recognized all technical differences and specialization of function in actual industry, it would have kept the organization of labor in line with the actual progress of industrial development, and would still have kept intact the idea of the unity of the working class by its common bond of brotherhood, a universal membership card, and universal obligation to recognize that an injury to one was an injury to all. Tentative steps in such a direction were already being taken when the A. F. of L. came upon the scene. The promoters of this organization seizing upon this one plan in the K. of L. organization, specialized its work along that line, and, instead of hastening to save the unity of the working class on the lines above indicated, they made the growing realization of the need of representation of craft differences the entering wedge for disrupting and destroying the earlier organization of that class.

Each craft was organized as a distinct body having no obligation to strike or fight beside any other craft, and making its own contracts with the bosses heedless of what was happening between these bosses

and their fellow laborers of another craft in the same industry, building, shop or room. The craft was organized on a national basis, to be governed by the vote of its members throughout the nation, and with a membership card good only in that craft and of no use to a member who desired to leave one craft in order to follow another. The fiction of national unity was and is still paid homage to, as vice always pays homage to virtue, by annual congresses in which many resolutions are gravely debated, to be forgotten as soon as congress adjourns. But the unifying (?) qualities of this form of organization are best revealed by the fact that the main function of the congress seems to be to provide the cynical master class with the, to them, pleasing spectacle of allied organizations fiercely fighting over questions of jurisdiction.

This policy of the A. F. of L., coupled with the unfortunate bomb incident of Chicago, for which the K. of L. received much of the blame, completed the ruin of the latter organization and destroyed the growing unity of the working class for the time being. The industrial union, as typified today in the I. W. W., could have, as I have shown, developed out of the Knights of Labor as logically and perfectly as the adult develops from the child. No new organization would have been necessary, and hence we may conclude that the I. W. W. is the legitimate heir of the native American labor movement, the inheritor of its principles, and the ripened fruit of its experiences. On the other hand the A. F. of L. may truly be regarded as an usurper on the throne of labor, an usurper who occupies the throne by virtue of having strangled its predecessor, and now, like all usurpers, raises the cry of "treason" against the rightful heir when it seeks to win its own again. It is obvious that the sway of the A. F. of L. in the American labor movement is but a brief interregnum between the passing of the old revolutionary organization and the ascension into power of the new.

But, I fancy I hear some one say, granting that all that is true, may we not condemn the methods by which the A. F. of L. destroyed, or helped to destroy, the Knights of Labor, and still believe that out of the A. F. of L. we may now build up an industrial organization such as we need, such as the K. of L. might have become, and as the I. W. W. aims to be?

This we can only answer by clearly focussing in our mind the A. F. of L. system of organization in actual practice. A carpenter is at work in a city. He has a dispute with the bosses, or all his fellow carpenters have. They will hold meetings to discuss the question of a strike, and finding the problem too big for them they will pass it on to the headquarters, and the headquarters pass it on to the general membership. The general membership, from San Francisco to Rhode

Island, and from Podunk to Kalamazoo will have a vote and say upon the question of the terms upon which the Chicago carpenters work, and if said carpenters are called out they will expect all these widely scattered carpenters to support them by financial and moral help. But while they are soliciting and receiving the support of their fellow carpenters from Dan to Beeshebee they are precluded from calling out in sympathy with them the painters who follow them in their work, the plumbers whose pipes they cover up, the steamfitters who work at their elbows, or the plasterer who precedes them. Yet the co-operation of these workers with them in their strikes is a thousandfold more important than the voting of strike funds which would keep them out on strike—until the building season is over and the winter sets in. In many cities to-day there is a Building Trades Council which is looked upon by many as a beginning of industrialism within the A. F. of L. It is not only the beginning but it is as far as industrialism can go within that body and its sole function is to secure united action in remedying petty grievances and enforcing the observance of contracts, but it does not take part in the really important work of determining hours or wages. It cannot for the simple reason that each of the thirty-three unions in the building industry are international organizations with international officers, and necessitating international referendums before any strike looking to the fixing of hours or wages are permissible. Hence, although all the building trades locals in a given district may be satisfied that the time is ripe for obtaining better conditions they cannot act before they obtain the consent of the membership throughout the entire country, and before that is obtained the moment for action is passed. The bond that is supposed to unite the carpenter in New York with the carpenter in Kokomo, Indiana, is converted into a wall of isolation which prevents him uniting, except in the most perfunctory fashion, with the men of other crafts who work beside him. The industrial union and the craft union are mutually exclusive terms. Suppose all the building trades locals of Chicago resolved to unite industrially, to form an industrial union. Every local which became an integral part of said union, pledged to obey its call to action, would by so doing forfeit their charter in the craft union and in the A. F. of L., and outside Chicago its members would be considered as scabs.

The Brewers' Union has been fighting for years to obtain the right to organize *all* brewery employes. It is hindered from doing so, not only by the rules of the A. F. of L. but by the form of organization of that body. Breweries, for instance, employ plumbers. Now if a plumber, so employed, would join the Brewers' Union and obey its call to strike, he would be expelled from his craft union, and if ever

he lost his job in the brewery would be considered as a scab if he went to work where union plumbers were employed. A craft union cannot recognize the right of another association to call its members out on strike. A machinist works to-day in a machine shop; a few months from now he may be employed in a clothing factory attending to the repairs of sewing machines. If the clothing industry resolves itself into an industrial union and he joins them, as he needs must if he believes in industrialism, he loses his membership in the International Association of Machinists, and if ever he loses his factory job and seeks to return to the machine shop he must either do so as a non-union man or pay a heavy fine if he is permitted to re-enter the I. A. of M. A stationery engineer works to-day at the construction of a new building, three months from now he is in a ship yard, six months from now he is at the mouth of a coal mine. Three different industries, requiring three different industrial unions.

The craft card is good to-day in all of them, but if any of them chose to form industrial unions, and called upon him to join he could only do so on penalty of losing his craft card and his right to strike benefits from his old organization. And if he did join his card of membership in the one he joined would be of no value when he drifted to any of the others. How can the A. F. of L. avail this dilemma? Industrialism requires that all the workers in a given industry be subject to the call of the governing body, or of the vote of the workers in that industry. But if these workers are organized in the A. F. of L. they must be subject only to the call of their national or international craft body, and if at any time they obey the call of the industry in preference to the craft they are ordered peremptorily back to scab upon their brothers.

If in addition to this organic difficulty, and it is the most insuperable, we take into consideration the system of making contracts or trade agreements on a craft basis pursued by old style unions we will see that our unfortunate brothers in the A. F. of L. are tied hand and foot, handcuffed and hobbled, to prevent their advance into industrialism. During the recent shirt-waist makers strike in New York when the question was mooted of a similar strike in Philadelphia our comrade Rose Pastor Stokes, according to our Socialist press, was continually urging upon the shirt-waist makers of Philadelphia the wisdom of striking before Christmas, and during the busy season. No more sensible advice could have been given. It was of the very essence of industrialist philosophy. Industrialism is more than a method of organization—it is a science of fighting. It says to the worker: Fight only at the time you select, never fight when the boss wants a fight. Fight at the height of the busy season, and in the slack season when the workers are in thousands upon the sidewalk absolutely refuse to be drawn into

battle. Even if the boss insults and vilifies your union and refuses to recognize it take it lying down in the slack season but mark it up in your little note-book, and when work is again rushing and Master Capitalist is pressed for orders squeeze him, and squeeze him till the most sensitive portion of his anatomy, his pocket book, yells with pain. That is the industrialist idea of the present phase of the class war as organized labor should conduct it. But, whatever may have been the case with the shirt-waist makers, that policy so ably enunciated by Comrade Rose Pastor Stokes is utterly opposed to the whole philosophy and practice of the A. F. of L. Contracts almost always expire when there is little demand for labor. For instance the United Mine Workers' contract with the bosses expires in the early summer when they have before them a long hot season with a minimum demand for coal. Hence the expiration of the contract generally finds the coal operators spoiling for a fight, and the union secretly dreading it. Most building trade contracts with the bosses expire in the winter. For example, the Brotherhood of Carpenters in New York, their contract expires in January. A nice time for a fight, in the middle of a northern winter, when all work in their vicinity is suspended owing to the rigors of the climate!

The foregoing will, I hope, give the reader some food for consideration upon the problem under review. That problem is intimately allied with the future of the Socialist party in America. Our party must become the political expression of the fight in the workshop, and draw its inspiration therefrom. Everything which tends to strengthen and discipline the hosts of labor tends irresistibly to swell the ranks of the revolutionary movement, and everything which tends to divide and disorganize the hosts of labor tends also to strengthen the forces of capitalism. *The most dispersive and isolating force at work in the labor movement to-day is craft unionism, the most cohesive and unifying force, industrial unionism.* In view of that fact all objections which my comrades make to industrial unionism on the ground of the supposedly, or truly anti-political, bias of many members of the I. W. W. is quite beside the mark. That question at the present stage of the game is purely doctrinaire. The use or non-use of political action will not be settled by the doctrinaire who may make it their hobby to-day, but will be settled by the workers who use the I. W. W. in their workshop struggles, and if at any time the conditions of a struggle in shop, factory, railroad or mine necessitate the employment of political action those workers so organized will use it, all theories and theorists to the contrary notwithstanding.

In their march to freedom the workers will use every weapon they find necessary.

As the economic struggle is the preparatory school and training ground for Socialists it is our duty to help guide along right lines the effort of the workers to choose the correct kind of organization to fight their battles in that conflict. According as they choose aright or wrongly so will the development of class consciousness in their minds be hastened or retarded by their every day experience in sharp struggles.

Thousands who once belonged to unions have become, not only non-union men, but scabs and strike-breakers, and in their desperation have turned upon the union and become its most bitter enemies. If you will call the roll of the strike-breakers who gather here in Chicago and elsewhere when union workers are out on strike, you will find that nearly all of them are ex-union men; men who once wore the badge of union labor, believed in it and marched proudly beneath the union banner.

What do you think of a unionism that creates an army for its own overthrow? There is something fundamentally wrong with that kind of unionism.—Eugene V. Debs in Class Unionism.

The Call of Revolt

by James
Oneal



HAD just stepped from the train when I noticed the crowd in the public square. A great mass of people stood there hooting, laughing, and jeering, which attracted others to the scene. Brawny Texans, with the inevitable white sombreros, tilted back on their heads, were directing their attention to what was apparently a boy whose small form stood out prominently in the glare of the sun. His back was toward me and for the moment I feared I was going to witness a "nigger" lynching. But there was no evidence of physical violence, the crowd contenting itself with a vocal demonstration. My curiosity drew me to the edge of the crowd and the boy proved to be an old man of some sixty years. It was a pathetic figure, this frail little man, evidently half starved, ill-clad, and his features glowing with the indignation that raged in his heart. It was Benny Dean, I afterwards learned, a familiar figure in this little Texas town, who had won for himself the epithets of "pest" and "crank." He was a modern rebel and had a disagreeable habit of occupying the public square on Saturdays, discussing the wrongs of the farmers and laborers. His small stature, wheezing voice, ragged appearance, bronzed face with freckles as large as snowflakes, and shaggy, uneven beard, were all against him. He was not a "prominent man." He had not that outward veneering which serves as a passport to the "best society," and that enables the respectable adventurer to secure the confidence of his victims. Benny had neglected the real things which enable us to recognize the "best citizens."

I gathered this much from bystanders. Notwithstanding his almost feminine voice his choice of words and method of delivery were excellent, and his speech flowed in a constant ripple that sparkled with wit and satire. He told of the miserable lot of the doomed farmers, the mass of whom lived in log huts and pine shanties and whose daily fare consisted of biscuits, pork grease and cheap coffee, and whose children, boys and girls of tender age, were drawn within the cotton fields to assist in gathering the crops. What with the "bo' weevil," "bo' "

worms, lizards, cotton gamblers, bankers and other parasites, these farmers lived in depths of poverty almost indescribable. And Benny was disturbing the peace and quiet of this town by launching tirades against these conditions.

He stood in the end of a farm wagon looking defiantly into the up-



turned faces of the mob. His speech had been interrupted by the angry cries and jeers of his auditors. A sharp stone had struck him in the face and blood trickled down his forehead, down the shaggy beard and then onto the ragged coat. His frail form shook with rage and his hands trembled with passion as he glared at his tormentors. In the crowd he saw the town banker who charged forty per cent. interest for his loans and demanded a mortgage on the cotton crop for security. There were merchants there who had foreclosed on starving farmers, taken their teams in settlement for debts and forced the

victims, now reduced to beggary, to walk miles across the prairie to their cheerless huts. There was also the country preacher whose religious concepts belonged to the fourteenth century and whose knowledge in general did not exceed much the level of an ox. It was his mission to preach contentment to the poor; to thank God that Southern children helped their parents in the fields, and prove from "Scripture" that washing a brother's feet was necessary to save us from hell. He was God's policeman for the poor. There was also the unthinking multitude, deprived of education, living from hand to mouth, and under the sway of the fleecer's views of life. Benny faced the learning, power and prejudice of the village, a trinity that is shocked when a new truth strays into their midst. A cyclone might sweep away the village and death enter every household, but this was the will of God. Hail storms might destroy their crops and leave them paupers but God knew that it was for the best. Their standard of living might sink to the level of their beasts while bankers and merchant fleecers waxed rich, but it was impious to protest and a defiance of Divine providence. All "right thinking" people knew this and "Scriptur'" settled the doubts of the remainder—except Benny. He had the curious hallucination that the resources of Texas were sufficient to supply the wants of all and that the hell of poverty could be abolished. It was apparent that he had earned the wrath of this God-fearing community.

For a moment the bony, gnarled fingers clenched as the little rebel stood erect. One brawny hand of one of these big Texans could have swept him into the gutter. Then raising his hand and pointing his finger at the crowd he proceeded with difficulty to speak:

"I am a friendless man yet known to you all. I have tried to get your attention and appeal to you for a hearing. I have tried to make an honest living in your midst and to show you a better world than the one that exists. For a time you patronized me by buying my baskets until I began to speak to you of the problems of to-day. But in response to the cry of those who rob you and who have transformed the South into a penal colony for their own enrichment, you no longer buy my baskets and you stone me in the public square. I am now a beggar without the means to get a meal, and I am going to walk out of this town tonight never to return again. I go friendless and alone, with the knowledge that your streets will in time be filled with men of my belief and that you will do them honor. You would put a gag on my lips but the remorseless hell in which you live will speak louder to you than this feeble voice of mine. It will reveal to you the horror of the regime that places your babies in the cotton fields so that to-day there is not a healthy farmer girl in the South.

"Good bye, friends. I bear you no malice, though I have suffered crucifixion today. Unfortunately you will suffer. Your masters will see to that. I shall go to other fields where strangers will be more kind than friends, where no one will deprive me of bread and give me a stone because I want food guaranteed to all."

He paused and raised his hand as though to give emphasis to his parting words. But his eyes wandered, the words seemed to get no farther than his thin, red throat. His head drooped and picking up the crude stick that served him as a cane, he descended from the wagon, walked rather unsteadily down the street and disappeared. The crowd stood for a moment in silence then broke up in confusion. They left the scene victorious and yet some felt a sense of shame and humiliation that was foreign to those who experience the joy of triumph.

* * * * *

We were gathered around a country school house fifteen miles distant. Darkness had settled down for the night and the only sound that broke the stillness was the rustle of farm wagons across the prairie as they approached the "meetin'" house. We were discussing how to seat the large crowd which was being added to by new arrivals, when a figure emerged from the mesquite bushes to our right. It approached with painful strides and not until the light streaming from the school house fell upon him did I recognize Benny Dean. He was covered with dust and the warm hat careened on the back of his head to get the full flow of air that never fails in Texas. Feeling his way with the stick he dropped the battered suitcase he carried and sat down with a sigh of relief.

"I walked fifteen miles to attend the meeting," he began in reply to our enquiries. "I wanted to be here and see the crowd and hear the speech. I'm an old man now and don't expect to see the movement victorious, but I want to help in the propaganda. Back in Lawnoak, I could not get a hearing and they stoned and starved me out. I suppose they'd mobbed me if I had not left. Never go there again. Tough town. Besides, that rock cut deeper than the skin. A stab in the heart wouldn't have been so bad. Seemed to me that my own child struck me. Hell, it was awful, comrades. No more Lawnoak for me. I left while I could and I'm going from place to place and do what I can. All I want is grub and a place to sleep. The rest belongs to the cause. Say, the house is full. Can't you place me next to the speaker's stand?"

Benny occupied the seat he wanted that night. At the conclusion of the meeting he bid us good-bye and slowly disappeared in the shadows from which he came. I had almost forgotten the frail little

man when two weeks later, glancing carelessly over a journal devoted to the cause, I happened across the following item:

"Comrade Benny Dean writes us from Lawnoak that he is without employment and unable to buy literature. There will be a carnival in Lawnoak the first week in June, and Comradè Dean requests all those who can spare booklets and papers to send them to him as it is a good opportunity for educational work."

I have renewed my faith in the great movement for human emancipation, and wish there was one member of the American Congress with the nobility, big heart, and Spartan courage of that illfed, little Texan, Benny Dean.

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labor, and everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, makes the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes.—Communist Manifesto.

The Steam Engine

BY WILLIAM E. DIXON.



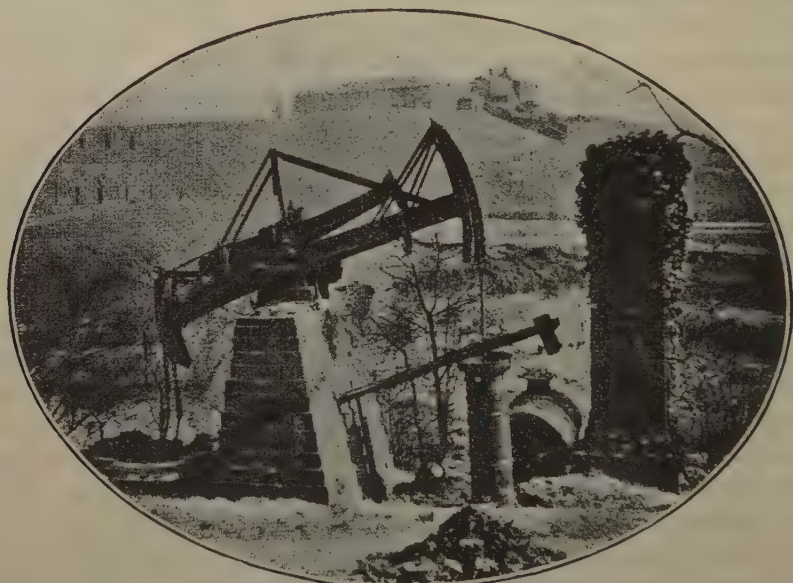
THE revolution that brought the manufacturing era to a close and gave us the modern factory system was made possible by the steam engine. For this reason and because, also, the steam engine has been an important factor in the development of modern industry and in the creation of conditions which already are bringing another revolution, the history of the steam engine is of absorbing interest.

But if we examine the processes which resulted in the invention of the engine we find there, also, a valuable lesson. One of the chief tenets of socialism is the materialistic conception of history—that man is made what he is, and the progress of the race governed, by environment; that under new conditions men change and the institutions of society change. Among opponents of socialism other theories of history obtain. Some hold to the religious basis; some to the theory that great ideas move the world; others, great men. The great man of “the great man theory” of history was Carlyle. He said: “All things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result * * * * of thought that dwelt in the great men sent into the world.” That is, progress comes only as the work of great men. Which theory fits the facts? Do men make conditions, or do circumstances make men? This is an important problem; and probably no incident in history furnishes better material for its consideration than the invention of the steam engine. No better example of their theory could be asked for by the disciples of Carlyle. Watt is looked to as *the* inventor of that wonderful heat motor which has built up modern civilization. As *The Engineer* for January, 1908, said: “In the popular mind, until recently, the steam engine was supposed to have sprung full-fledged from the brain of James Watt as he sat watching his mother’s teakettle.” But that idea has been revised. We know this is not true. The same story is told of both Savery and Worcester who preceded Watt by a century. Let us, then, see what Watt’s work was.

Watt was an instrument maker at the University of Glasgow, and in 1763 there was brought to him, for repairs, a model of the Newcomen engine. This engine had been patented by Newcomen and Scally in 1705. The boy Potter had added an automatic valve gear, which had been further improved by Brighton in 1718. Smeaton had done much

he was not the inventor of the engine, yet it is claimed—and the claim seems well founded—that Watt's inventions represent greater progress in its development than those of any other one man.

But to accomplish this Watt needed something more than mere "native ingenuity" or "genius." Ingenuity might suggest the governor, or the crosshead, or even the indicator; but a knowledge of thermodynamics is necessary to explain the indicator card, and acquaintance with the laws of mechanics is necessary before one can design a governor



NEWCOMEN PUMPING ENGINE, BARDSLEY, NEAR ASHTON—UNDER-LYNE.
OUT OF USE 1830.

From Mr. Henry Davey's paper before the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.

to maintain an engine at a certain speed. Invention is not the simple matter many people imagine. For instance, if one should enter the air-ship' field today he would find that success is not merely a matter of throwing together a "likely looking machine," but that its demands reach much deeper. He must know the sustaining power of air upon a moving plane. He must have accurate knowledge of the strength of materials; for the machine must not be weak, and yet every useless pound of metal is a drag. The bracing of the various parts, the action of propellers, the power required, these are but a few of the many things he must know. Guesses won't do. So he must delve into science. He will find that the work of such "failures" as Langley and Lilenthal may be studied with benefit. The light, strong tubing he must use was developed in the bicycle, the gasoline motor in the automobile. And by no small amount

does his success depend upon his ability to secure skilled mechanics to build the machine. The inventor, then, must avail himself of technical science, technical skill and former inventions. Other factors may, and often do, enter as requirements, but this is the minimum. If he lack but one of these, he is doomed to failure. The writer has in mind a man who, for four years, carried around with him the drawings of an invention. Time after time machinists told him it was impractical. Others tried to make it and failed. Then one day he found a man whose skill was equal to the task. To this inventor, skilled labor made all the difference between failure and success.

Let us see how Watt fared in these matters. At Glasgow he was brought into intimate contact with Dr. Black, who had just discovered "latent heat," knowledge of which is absolutely essential to any scientific treatment of steam engine problems. And not only did Dr. Black give freely of his scientific knowledge, but both he and Dr. Roebuck assisted Watt financially. That Sir Humphrey Davy was an intimate friend of Watt, speaks for itself. Savery, Worcester, Papin and many others had experimented with steam. Their failure, their achievements and their discoveries were contained in the works of Desaguliers, Switzer and others—all accessible to Watt at Glasgow, and of which he availed himself. Our own versatile Franklin, in company with Dr. Darwin and Matthew Boulton, was also studying steam. In 1766 an engine constructed in Boulton's shop was exhibited in London by Franklin, who appears to be the inventor, also, of the modern down draft furnace. Their discoveries, whatever they were, became available to Watt in 1768 when the firm of Boulton and Watt was formed.

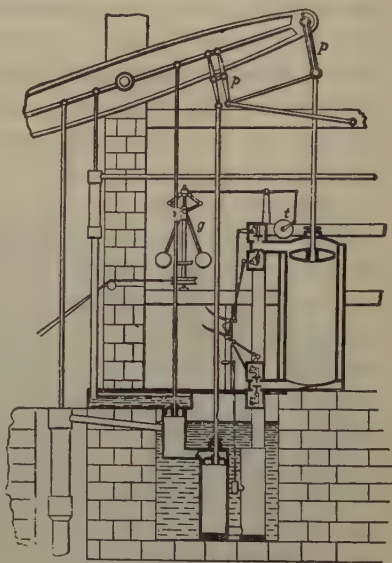
The process of smelting iron with coal had recently been discovered, and iron was to be needed in the new machines, engines and boilers. The flywheel and the boring-bar were recent inventions; and a little later Maudsley gave us the slide rest, converting the old simple speed lathe into a wonderful machine, making easy of attainment a precision undreamed of.

Compared with the mechanics of today the workmen of that time were blunderers. If Watt could have secured the skilled labor to be found in the average twentieth century machine shop his achievements might have been far greater. He once boasted that one of his cylinders was only three-eighths of an inch out of round. Today a variation of over one-hundredth of an inch would not be allowed. And yet, poor as it was, the quality of labor was far superior to that of a century before. Thurston says: "Even had the engine been designed earlier, it is quite unlikely that the world would ever have seen the steam engine a success until this time, when mechanics were just acquiring the skill requisite for its construction. But, on the other hand, it is not im-

probable that, had the mechanics of an earlier period been as skillful and as well educated in the manual niceties of their business, the steam engine might have been much earlier brought into use."

Thurston was an eminent engineer and as far as the mechanical element of the question is concerned he is probably correct; but there is another element the sociologist must examine. A few days ago New York was celebrating the centenary of the invention of the steamboat. Now it is well known that Fulton was only one of many inventors of the steamboat and not the first by any means. Seventeen years before the Clermont made its historic trip up the Hudson, one of Fitch's boats was making regular trips on the Delaware. Why, then, do we give the crown to Fulton? Simply because the Clermont was the first *commercial success*. Years before, George Washington had pointed out that one of the most important routes to the west lay up the Hudson and Mohawk rivers and across to the lakes. The Erie Canal was already projected. A tide of immigration was setting into the Northwest Territory. The Clermont shortened the trip to Albany from a week to thirty-six hours. That trip was part of a great commercial route, as the Clermont "made money." The Delaware river was not a commercial highway and the earlier boat was a financial failure.

That is what circumstances meant to Fulton. Let us see if Watt was favored in a like manner. Was there a demand for an improved steam engine? There is no question about it. Cotton machinery was just being invented. Arkwright took out his first patent on spinning machinery in 1769, and Cartwright brought out his power loom in 1784. It was not possible to spin and weave at unheard of speed, but it was difficult to get the raw material. Eli Whitney solved that riddle with the cotton-gin in 1793; and the cycle of cotton machinery was complete. But the machinery must be driven. The Newcomen engine was not suitable for this work; but Watt's was; and as soon as this was proved Boulton and Watt were overrun with orders. Thus the inventions of Cartwright and Arkwright laid the basis of the commercial success of Watt's inventions.



WATT'S ENGINE, 1774.

We are prone to attach some one man's name to an invention or discovery, and then we proceed to forget the part others have taken. Suggest wireless telegraphy and the mind connects it with Marconi, yet many others have given us wireless systems. No sooner had Wright flown than the air was full of biplanes and monoplanes. Stephenson had several able competitors. The same conditions held in steam engine development. Thurston says "a host of inventors still worked on the most attractive of all mechanical combinations. * * * Some inventions were made by contemporaries of Watt * * * but these were nearly all too far in advance of the time." Hornblower secured a patent on the compound engine, but Watt held a patent on the condenser and without that the compound was worthless. Murdock, foreman in the shops of Boulton and Watt, was a man of no slight ability. He invented the oscillating engine, and introduced the use of compressed air in shop work. He received the Rumford gold medal from the Royal Society in 1808 for suggesting illumination with coal gas. Of him Thurston says: "For many years he was the assistant, friend and coadjutor of Watt; and it is to his ingenuity that we are to give credit for not only many independent inventions, but also for suggestions and improvements which were often indispensable to the formation and perfection of some of Watt's own inventions." Richard Trevithick and William Bull were competitors of Boulton and Watt. The "Bull Cornish engine" impresses one as a simpler and better mechanism than Watt's. But Watt held patents which interfered with its development. Cartwright produced an engine which was likewise hampered.

Now let us revert to the original question: did circumstances make Watt, and make the development of the steam engine inevitable in the closing years of the eighteenth century, or did that development depend upon the advent of James Watt? Is it not evident that had Watt been born in 1536 instead of 1736 we never should have heard of him in this connection? And had he never lived? There were other engines, good ones, and a host of inventors. Is it likely the spindles and looms would have had to wait long?

Survey the whole world of that time. Where except on that little island of England and Scotland do you find a steam engine to improve, or cotton machinery to drive, or coal and iron as accessible? Then search that island over for information on latent heat, and you will search in vain until you come to the University of Glasgow. There you will find James Watt the instrument maker—and to him was brought the Newcomen model. Does it not seem that the "force of circumstances" was behind his work. And after all, may we not be too generous in ascribing so much to him? Did he not serve somewhat as a lens through which the light of many minds was focused?

Hawaii, the Beautiful

BY JACK MORTON.



WHEN you see photographs of Beautiful Hawaii with the sugar cane in blossom and a snug little cottage nestling among the palm trees, do not be deceived. For the golden days have passed away and Civilization and the Capitalist class have set their feet upon the island where the coffee and tobacco are in bloom. Thence come the rich pine-apples and here the sugar-cane ripens all the year round.



JAPANESE WAGE SLAVES IN THE SUGAR CANE FIELDS.

But with capitalism and the modern machine has come a new system of production and the inevitable proletariat. So do not allow the prospectuses to cause you to fancy that this wealth blooms for you.

Not long ago the Review printed a brief article upon the strike of several thousand Japanese workers in Hawaii. From all reports the



CUTTING SUGAR CANE.

persistent efforts of the Higher Wage Association has been a strong factor in forcing the plantation owners to treat their employes more like human beings.



PICKING PINEAPPLES.

This, in the face of the strenuous efforts of the plantation owners

whose employment agents have scoured Portugal and Russia for laborers. Naturally these men sang the old song, of the land flowing with milk and honey. Naturally, too, they refrained from explaining that the working class in Hawaii was not allowed to share them.

Soon great ships were bringing loads of immigrants whose hopes beat high in the expectation of unlimited opportunities for the thrifty and industrious. But in many places the plantation owners have accomplished their purpose, for the immigrants found themselves in a serious condition. And generally a man has only to be hungry enough to work for anything. From all reports it has only been through the united efforts of the Higher Wage Association that wages have not been forced down everywhere to the barest subsistence point.

The United States government is supporting the colonization schemes of the plantation owners in many ways. Comrade Jacob Kotinsky, a Socialist, who has been assistant entomologist in the Federal service at Honolulu, has been discharged recently for explain-



PICKING COFFEE.

ing to the Russian and Portuguese workmen the strike situation and the economic conditions.

Contrary to the general ideas among us, the plantations in Hawaii are run almost entirely in the most modern methods. Great steam plows are used universally, and one sugar-cane plantation alone contains over sixty-five miles of flume, through which the cane is floated to the very doors of the company's mills. A stupendous system of irri-



FLUMING SUGAR CANE INTO HONUAPPO MILL, KAU, DISTRICT OF HAWAII.

gation has been introduced throughout Hawaii so that the dryest places now blossom as the rose.

In spite of the army of unemployed, many of whom are planning for means to return to their homes and friends, the plantation owners are finding that steady, permanent workers produce bigger crops and more profits than desultory and underfed laborers. For this reason the Planters' Association is inaugurating a new bonus system by which men and women working a certain number of days a year receive a cash bonus of twenty or twenty-four dollars at the end of that time.

By this it will be seen that the planters are beginning to emulate the most highly developed industries. In many places small cottages and an acre of land are given to the laborers who will faithfully work to the satisfaction of the employers, for a period of three years.

This is the same old trick that is being worked by the Steel Trust. Often employers of labor discover that a bonus offered at a future time as the reward of "good behavior" on the part of the workmen, tends to render the men and women more obedient slaves, more docile and energetic servants. But the men and women who have gone to Hawaii are made of sturdy stuff. The pioneers of the world have ever been rebels. They do not tamely submit to the annihilation of their hopes of economic independence. The struggle between capitalist and laborer in Hawaii has not been settled. Nowhere has the fight between exploiter and exploited been settled. It will never be settled till class rule has passed away and all men have gained economic independence!

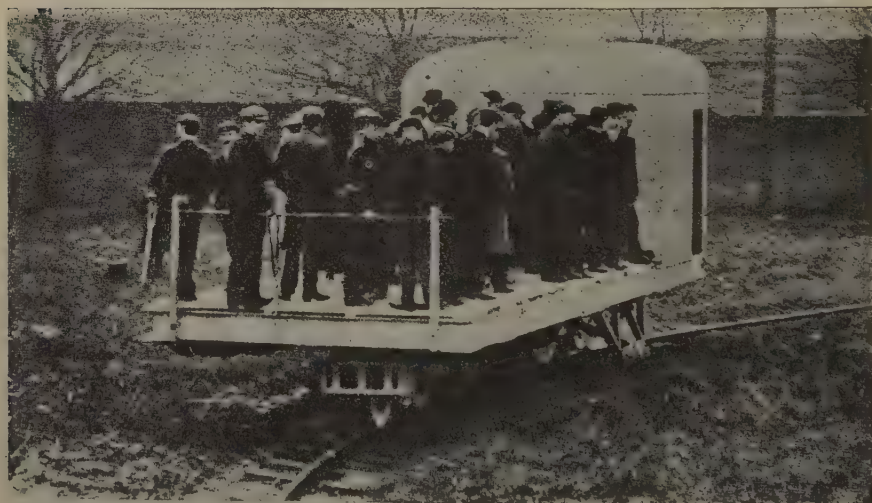
The Mono-Rail.



ALTHOUGH it has not yet by any means reached the stage of practicability, Mr. Louis Brennen has now demonstrated in a fashion quite conclusive to the scientific press of Europe that all the claims made for the Mono-Rail have been realized.

"Intense interest has, therefore, been awakened in the prospect of soon propelling railroad cars on a single line of rail laid on the ground. They will be maintained upright by means of gyroscopic control, and in the light of the demonstration just made they will turn sharp curves and ascend steep gradients. Apart from this gyroscopic control the railroad cars would capsize.

Mr. Brennen imparts stability to his vehicles through the same



principle which we see on its grandest scale, when nature steadies the movements of the heavenly bodies in their orbits.

Aided by grants from the British Government, Mr. Brennen has developed this idea and we have now on record, as *London Nature* announces, the result of public trials of a full sized vehicle. In view of the value and novelty of the system and its future applications, a brief description of the car or truck and of its performances, as written by an engineer on the spot, is reproduced here:

"The railway truck was of considerable size and weight, being 40 feet long and 10 feet wide, weighing when empty 22 tons. It ran

upon 4 wheels 3 feet in diameter, placed below the center line of the truck, each pair of wheels being attached to a 'bogy carriage,' similar to those fitted under the long vehicles now commonly used on ordinary railroads. In ordinary practice, of course, four wheels instead of two are attached to each 'bogy,' and the arrangement is adopted chiefly in order to permit long vehicles to pass readily and safely around the curves of the railway line. The centres of the 'bogies' in the Brennen vehicle were 20 feet apart and curves only 35 feet in radius were traversed in the course of the trial. The wheels are double-flanged so as to fit over the upper part of the rail, and the experimental track was laid with 70-pound Vignole section rails, carried by transverse sleepers 3 feet 6 inches long. The carriage was self-propelled, and was electrically driven by two motors 40 to 50 H. P., a speed of about 7 miles an hour being maintained when running on a circular track of 105 feet radius.

From the track the carriage ran on a straight piece of line and was subsequently driven over sharp reverse curves, keeping practically upright throughout. When some 40 people stood on one side of the car, it remained almost level. This stability, as was explained previously, was due to gyroscopic control. There are two gyroscopic wheels, each 3 feet 6 inches in diameter and weighing three-fourths of a ton, which are driven by an electric motor at a speed of 3,000 revolutions per minute, within an air-tight case in which a high vacuum is maintained. Mr. Brennan would have preferred a still higher rate of revolution, and it may be obtained hereafter, in which case smaller and lighter wheels would give equal stability.

It will be seen, therefore, that Mr. Brennan has succeeded in reproducing on full scale in this large carriage, which can carry a load of from 10 to 15 tons, results corresponding to that obtained in his model truck of 1907, which was only 6 feet in length."

Certain features of the new carriage received special notice from the expert whose account we have copied. It has been seen that this new carriage is self-propelled, the electric energy required for that purpose for driving the gyroscopic wheels, actuating the Westinghouse brake and other purposes, being generated by two dynamos driven by petrol engines. There are 2 generating sets, one of 80 H. P. and one of 20 H. P.; and their weight is included in the 22 tons. Steam power could, if preferred, be used for propulsion, but electricity is greatly superior for driving the gyroscopic wheels.

If electric energy could be obtained from a central station and conveyed by an overhead wire to the motors driving the carriage wheels and the gyroscopes, the weight of the car or truck would, of

course, if desired, be correspondingly reduced and its load increased.

The speed attained on the trial was low, but advocates of the Mono-Rail maintain that it is better adapted than the ordinary system for extraordinarily high speed. Very steep gradients are ascended and descended. The sensations experienced by passengers are pronounced quite exhilarating. The ordinary jolts of the train, run on two rails, are never felt on the Mono-Rail even when a sharp curve is rounded at high speed and in an open baggage car."—Current Literature.

The Survival of the Fittest

BY GEORGE E. WINKLER.

When the Neolithic man
From an angry cave-bear ran,
 And climbed in haste a prehistoric tree,
Loud he voiced the fear he felt,
Till his tribesmen took the pelt,
 Of that cave-bear and they bore it home in glee.

It was thus he learned to see,
What has oft occurred to me,
 (Though to fight a monster all alone is brave)
'Tis as that there ought to be,
Somewhere handy two or three
 Of your tribesmen when your case is growing grave.

So, although the fit survive,
In a world where all must strive,
 Is it true the fit would win out all alone?
Will the fit not ever be,
Those who call in two or three,
 Or a million more until the fight is won?

The Situation in British Columbia

By DAN SPROUL.



WE have just had an election in British Columbia; not an extraordinary thing of itself, but the result was a trifle unusual.

The previous house consisted of 42 members, 13 of whom were Liberals, 3 Socialists and the remainder Conservatives.

The newly-elected house consists of 42 members, also, 2 of whom are liberals, 2 Socialists and the remainder Conservatives.

Quite a different face has been put upon matters, and the result looks somewhat like a Liberal defeat, and somewhat like a Socialist defeat, likewise.

In fact, the Liberal defeat was not a defeat, it was a landslide (Irish, but true), and the Socialist defeat only a footslip, the cause of which will become apparent later on.

The Conservatives, under the direction of the "Right Honorable" Richard McBride (possibly to distinguish him from the **wrong** honorables); further under the direction of Mackenzie and Mann, manipulators of the Canadian Northern Railway Company, and still further under the direction of the devil-knows-what bunch of capitalists of no particular nationality, were enabled to dig their arms down to the shoulders, in the treasury chest, by means of an "alleged" railway policy which they flaunted in the faces of the "intelligent" electors, and along with brass bands, booze and much "filthy lucre," again worked the old, old confidence trick.

Despite the efforts of these bell-mouthed experts, with their constipation of ideas, and diarrhoea of words, we made a splendid showing, and came within an ace of capturing several seats.

In Nanaimo, Jim Hawthornthwaite, our leader in the house, was returned by an increased majority, being 320 ahead of the Conservative candidate in a straight fight, Socialism versus Capitalism.

In Newcastle, Parker Williams was also returned by an increased majority, being 38 votes ahead of the combined Liberal and Conservative votes.

These seats are in mining districts, are good class-conscious votes, no reform and no revision about them, and may certainly be reckoned as "ours till the revolution."

In Grand Forks—the seat which we lost—John McInnis put up a strong fight, being defeated by 150 votes, and the combined efforts

of "dollars," and an indiscriminate use of the "black list." The "reds" were systematically weeded out by the concerted action of the capitalists and their tools, in an effort to recapture this seat: which they did, but we are still alive and fighting, and mean to "get" there again next time.

In Fernie, also, an exceedingly bitter fight was waged, the extent of which may be gauged from the fact that the total vote cast jumped from 700 in 1907 to about 2,260 in 1909. The capitalists were assuredly busy, we also; but despite our efforts they managed to get votes faster on the list than we could convert them into revolutionists, by about 150 only. It would be exceedingly interesting to know what this contest cost them. Of course, they can now "recuperate"; still it would be interesting. Our vote jumped from 285 in 1907 to 813. Quite a respectable showing. Ours next time.

Comox, also, was strongly contested by Jim Cartwright, who only lost by a score of votes, despite the fact that this was the first time the seat was contested, and also that we were rather late in the field, some comrades in out-of-the-way places even complaining that they did not know of his candidature until the day of the election.

Other seats, also, made excellent showings, and our total votes cast increased from 5,500 odd in 1907 to close on 12,000, more than double, which certainly don't look much like defeat.

We have every cause to congratulate ourselves over the results which our clear-cut, uncompromising, revolutionary program is producing. Reformists are few and far between, and are principally to be found outside the party, a position which they occupy either from choice or discretion, mostly discretion, as we have less "use" for them than for capitalism. Which is saying much, and that strongly.

Our policy is revolution, pure and simple, without troubling in the least whether we are robbed as consumers or not, which may appear "vulgar" to many, but certainly produces results; and feels to us—to borrow a compound complexion "ad"—"clear, and bright, and wholesome, as a crystal winter's day."

Of course, a "reformer" now and then gets up on his hind legs and howls; but he is so quickly "sat on" that he promptly "transforms" himself to the tall timbers, and "bays the moon" in solitude.

A cancer requires the knife, not a poultice. It would be about as sensible to try and reform the devil (if such an old barbarian did exist) and then leave him at large, with all kinds of tempting morsels in view, and expect him to act like a simpering seraphim. No:

When the devil is ill, the devil a saint would be.

When the devil is well, the devil a saint is he.

Revolution makes the capitalists ill. They fatten on reform. Capitalism, with all its tin-trumpet brigade, and pot-bellied manipulators, must go, before the proletariats' chains can be burst.

There is only one fault to find with the platform here, and that is, it is entirely political. There is an utter lack of appreciation and understanding of the new movement taking place upon the industrial field towards revolutionary industrial unionism. They are regarded, in conjunction with the old and decaying craft unions, as mere "buyers and sellers of labor powers," and not as the basis upon which the Co-operative Commonwealth can, and will be, founded. Political action aims solely at capturing the state, which, when accomplished, must inevitably commit suicide; since the state, being a capitalistic concern, useful only as a coercive class weapon, must fall with capitalism. The new commonwealth of social ownership must be built from the bottom upwards, not from the top downwards. Territorial administration is entirely unsuited to the requirements of modern industry, which knows no boundaries except the earth; and, therefore, the new social administration, to have a sure and firm foundation, must be organized from the shop, from the mines, mills, factories, and farms, and not from the parlor. As Stirton, formerly of the "Wage Slave," says, "Only the industrial field offers a theoretical plan of social administration."

Our Canadian socialists are rather pleased—not without reason—of the progress which their clear-cut platform is making among the workers; but I'm thoroughly convinced they err in ascribing this to their pursuance of political action alone. It is their revolutionary principles which find such ready acceptance, and obtain such a firm hold upon the thinking section of the workers. When they observe how firmly, in season and out of season (if the class-struggle could possibly be out of season), at all times and in all places, we stick unflinchingly to the same old principles, and take no heed of the various nostrums and "live issues" of the day—the yellow perils, local options and railway policies—it cannot fail to strike them that there **must** be something solid behind it all. Humanity in the aggregate has a strong leaning towards progress. They know and feel there is something radically wrong somewhere; but where it is, their lack of knowledge of their real economic condition prevents them from grasping; and they are thus being continually led up some cul-de-sac on a wild-goose chase, only to find themselves worse off than before—if that were possible. Napoleon said, "Time and I against any two." We say "Time and the revolution against them all."

However, the situation here is really interesting. We have been laughed at time and again for maintaining the "identity of interest" between Liberalism and Conservatism. Here we have our assertion verified, and by capitalism itself. In British Columbia the Conservatives are in power, while in Alberta,—the adjoining eastern province—the Liberals are in control; and both political machines are dominated by the same three corporations, the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern Railways. Q. E. D.

The field is now clear of obstacles, and a straight fight is offered us, Socialism against Capitalism. Can we seize the opportunity, and from now till the revolution be the opposition in fact, as well as in name? I think we can; and so do all of us. Independent Labor Parties (so-called) have been born, glimmered faintly for a while, and gone by the board. There are few, if any, fossilized encumbrances hanging on to our coat-tails. The movement is young, and strong, and healthy, and the material of the best. Miners, from the very nature of their occupation, are of a reckless, dare-devil disposition, and have little patience with fossilized institutions of any description whether physical or metaphysical, social or religious.

They have been forced out here from the "older" countries of the world, Britain, Germany, Sweden, Italy, to escape from the cramping, degrading effects of their highly-developed "civilizations." The shoe is beginning to pinch here, likewise; and this is the "Last Great West." Watch us.

The Workingmen have no country. We cannot take away from them what they have not got. * * * By freedom is meant * * * free buying and selling—Communist Manifesto.



The Common Enemy. Last month circumstances obliged us to depart from our usual practice and give considerable space to the discussion of questions on which socialists are divided. The ballots for a new National Executive Committee are now being counted and the result will be known about the middle of February. We believe that the comrades chosen will be able to suggest an aggressive plan of campaign against capitalism that will unite the energetic efforts of all socialists. It is easy to become excited over our varying opinions as to tactics, and to overrate their importance. When all is said, our agreements are of vastly more importance than our differences. We believe that the opportunists within the party are working on a mistaken theory and are to some extent misdirecting their strength, but we have not the least desire to wage war on them. Our enemy is capitalism. It is becoming more arrogant and more aggressive from day to day. The reports we print this month of events in Philadelphia and Spokane, in Massachusetts, China and Hawaii all tell the same story. The workers are beginning to fight because they must fight or lose what small measure of freedom and comfort is still left to them. Sometimes they win, sometimes they lose in the daily skirmishes with the forces of capitalism, but lose or win, they are learning day by day the great lesson of **the need of ORGANIZATION**, and they will not forget it. The task of the Socialist Party is to respond to this need. It is no longer hard to make a wage-worker see that the class struggle is a fact; the struggle is being forced on him and he cannot escape it. What we must do is to bring the isolated workers together. Both economic and political organizations are absolutely essential to the needs of the hour. Either one alone would be crippled in the face of a powerful enemy. Our party will live and grow in direct proportion to the energy it expends, not in disputes over tactics, but in aggressive propaganda for working-class politics and revolutionary unionism.

The Review and the Publishing House. The annual meeting of the stockholders of Charles H. Kerr & Company was held on January

15. Out of the 3,129 shares of stock issued up to the end of 1909, 2,179 were represented at the meeting either in person or by proxy, and the seven directors were re-elected without a single dissenting vote. The receipts of the Review during the year 1907, just before the present editors took charge, were \$2,533.26. For the year 1909 its receipts were \$10,913.54, an increase in two years of over four hundred per cent. And this increase comes from an immense number of subscribers and purchasers scattered over the United States and the whole English-speaking world. The Social Democratic Herald insinuates that the Review is financed by William English Walling, and that he dictates its editorial policy. As a matter of fact, Comrade Walling holds just 21 shares of stock out of 3,129, and most of these were paid for in 1900. His contributions of money to the publishing house from the beginning, including what he paid for his stock, will not exceed \$400, and we have it on good authority that he has contributed ten times that sum to one of our Socialist dailies. We believe Comrade Walling has no ambition to dictate the policy of any socialist periodical; certainly he has shown no such disposition in the case of the Review. Whatever success we have won is due to our realizing what the revolutionary wage-workers want, and finding writers capable of putting this into words. The proletariat needs no saviors, no leaders; it is pushed onward by irresistible forces. Our writers and speakers if they see clearly may save it from a stumbling-block now and then, but if they try to lead it away from the straight path they will be left behind. This publishing house is owned and controlled by wage-workers; they have been its support in the hard struggle of the last ten years, and its future will be what they make it.





INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

AUSTRALIA. The Government and the Working-Class. Again Australia is torn by a great industrial struggle. The strike of coal miners at Newcastle (New South Wales) is, at least in one respect, among the most important of recent years. It has driven the capitalist class to the use of its final legal weapons, and so displayed the function of the political state in startlingly open fashion.

A strike occurred in the Newcastle mines in 1907. It was unsatisfactorily settled by arbitration, and trouble has been brewing ever since. On September 22, 1909, the men presented a statement of grievances to the mine-owners. The grievances covered a wide variety of details in relation to the management of the mines and the computation of wages, but the chief complaints were in regard to black-listing and other forms of discrimination against union men. The owners paid no attention to the representations of the men. On November 5 the Miners' Board of Delegates voted to strike; the various unions supported the move and within a few days the strike was on.

The strikers received the enthusiastic support of the Broken Hill miners and of the Waterside workers of New South Wales. Both these groups offered to go out in sympathy. The Broken Hill unions, which have but recently concluded their own great struggle, sent over an immediate donation of \$5,000 and their executive board recommended that the unions assess each member half a crown a week for the strike fund as long as this was needed. The Queensland miners gave substantial aid by refusing to fill orders for Newcastle.

The effect of the strike on business was immediate, for the miners had timed their strike to a market where the coal supply was low. Three hundred boats were forced to lie idle. Factories were shut down. The city of Sydney was threatened with a gas famine. Only the return to work of some of the western miners prevented more dire results.

But at this point the government took a hand. Readers of the Review remember the passage of the famous Industrial Disputes Act. This measure provided for compulsory arbitration and made striking

a crime. In the present case the strikers were eager to enter into a discussion of their grievances, but the owners "had nothing to arbitrate." Nevertheless Premier Wade kept reminding the men that they were criminals. He hoped, so he said, that they would return to work and so not compel him to enforce the law against them. He supported the claim of the owners that there could be no conference until work had been resumed. The men had been deceived before and refused to return.

On Dec.-17 the federal parliament re-enacted the penal section of the Industrial Disputes Act. This renders any person who foments labor disputes ending in a strike or lock-out liable to a year's imprisonment or a fine of \$5,000. And on December 30 fourteen members of the Board of Delegates of the Miners' Federation were sentenced to fines of \$500 each or two months' imprisonment.

Just what the outcome will be cannot, of course, be foretold now. Before the delegates were sentenced the strikers in one of the three divisions (the southern) had returned to work. But this high-handed sentence may renew the battle instead of ending it. At any rate, it can be set down that the Australian government, for all the influence of the Labor Party, has taken a step in advance of all others in defense of capitalist interests. Here we have wealthy mining corporations, many of them with their stock selling at a premium of from 200 to 1,200 per cent, refusing the very modest request of the workers. And the government declares by statute that a peaceful strike is a crime. What our government does by injunction, the Australian government does by statute. By statute it is deliberately, openly, attempting to bind the working-class hand and foot.

ITALY. The Case of Ferri. In one congress after another the opposing wings of the Italian movement have attempted to achieve unity by compromise. But the forces that made for division were deep, organic, and the compromises were merely verbal. The result has been constant struggle and misunderstanding. In the first place the opposing factions bore the familiar names of Reformers and Revolutionists. The Reformers were led by Turati, the Revolutionists by Ferri. In the convention of 1906 the first compromise was effected. The combination of Reformers and Revolutionists took the name Integralists. But it soon appeared that the Reformers had the upper hand in the new group. In the meantime the Revolutionists had grown clearer in theory and tactics. So we soon had again the familiar grouping with new names: Integralists were opposed to Syndicalists.

In one respect the leading Integralists have divided themselves

more sharply from the bourgeois parties than their predecessors, the Reformers. They have, at least most of them, seen through the farce of bourgeois reform. Formerly socialist parliamentary groups supported the programs of reform ministries. The congress of 1906 declared: "The parliamentary group of the party cannot approve a government program; however, when an exceptional case comes up, it must consult the executive committee of the party." In the congress of 1908 the principle underlying this declaration was re-stated: "The congress is of the opinion that political action not designed especially to play a part in actual government should always be clearly marked off from that of the bourgeois reformers. "And for the past few years that has been the principle adhered to by the socialist group in the Italian parliament.

While, however, the socialist parliamentarians have acted, in the main, in opposition to the capitalist class, there has been growing up a set of bourgeois interests within the socialist party. I have just been reading in an Italian journal a long interview with Antonio Labriola. He closes with the statement: "In upper Italy, especially in Emilia and Lombardy, reformism has radically corrupted the proletarian consciousness; it has wiped out completely the difference between good and bad, and transformed the socialist party into a great organization of private interests." He attributes this sad state of affairs, in part, to the growth of co-operative societies. Shareholders in the co-operative societies have, he maintains, bourgeois interests. They have even asked concessions of the government and promised support in return for them.

But whatever its cause, the bourgeois tendency of the party in certain districts of northern Italy is indubitable. And during the past month this tendency has borne fruit that has startled the world. Early in December, it will be remembered, Giolitti was replaced as Prime Minister by Sonnino. The new Premier is not in any sense a reformer. In fact, his elevation seems to have been a mere makeshift to tide the king over a crisis. He has submitted no definite program. Nevertheless, about the middle of the month the startling announcement came that Enrico Ferri, whom we knew less than ten years ago as the inspired leader of the revolutionary forces, had broken away from his parliamentary group and declared his willingness to support the government. He was criticized by his former comrades in public meetings and in the press. Bissolati, editor of *L'Avanti*, denounced him in a leading editorial. His answer was that he was responsible to his constituents alone. Now Ferri represents the district of Gonzaga, one of those districts in the north where, according to

Labriola, the socialist party is an organization of bourgeois private interests. The scanty reports which have reached this country seem to show that his constituency is perfectly content with the action of its representative.

By the socialist party, however, Ferri has been disowned. His former comrades in parliament have formally recognized the fact that he has cut himself off from the party. And the executive committee of the party has sent out the following declaration: "In view of the statement of some socialist deputies regarding the coming parliamentary struggle, and with the reservation of an agreement with the parliamentary fraction, the party executive declares that under the present conditions of public life in Italy it is a dangerous and misleading illusion to expect any fruitful activity from the entrance of representatives of the socialist party into the government."

To be sure, we are far from the events I have briefly sketched; the reports that have come to us are but fragmentary. Any conclusion that is reached now is liable to prove false. But at this moment it seems that the name of Enrico Ferri must be added to those of Clemenceau, Millerand, Briand and the host of others who have deserted the cause for the sake of "something new"—and that something for themselves.

BELGIUM. A New King but the Old Capitalism. When Albert I. was proclaimed king of Belgium, the executive committee of the socialist party sent out an extremely interesting manifesto. After explaining that thirty or forty years ago monarchs were merely symbols, the manifesto goes on: "With Leopold II. he has become the great organizer of the political struggle of capitalism against the proletariat."

Formerly the king cost the nation only the three million three hundred francs demanded by the civil list; to-day he costs us the two hundred millions which have been paid to him for the annexation of the Congo and the fabulous sums consumed by our militarism, and to-morrow, perhaps—for his policies will survive him—all the expenses involved in the creation of a great navy.

"For all these reasons the party of the working-class fights always for a republic and against the monarchy."

This manifesto was made necessary by the fact that the ruling class of Belgium is playing a very old game. Whenever and wherever there is a change in the personnel of government, the cry goes up that the new monarch, the new president or the new minister is a democrat, a reformer, a friend of the people. Without this trick the

farce of capitalist government would long ago have come to an end. And so, naturally, one of the functions of a socialist political party is to show that it is a trick, to point out that with all the changes of persons there is no essential change in principle or policy. That is precisely what our Belgium comrades have done. They call on the working-class of Belgium to fight the new monarch as they fought the old one.

GERMANY. Prussian Social Congress. The third biennial congress of the Prussian Social Democracy met in Berlin January 3-5. Part of the session was given up to the adoption of a uniform program for socialist participation in municipal activities. But the subject which attracted chief attention and roused the delegates to greatest enthusiasm was the campaign for electoral reform. The brazenly reactionary character of the Prussian electoral system has just been officially revealed. The government has published statistics of the last election to the Landtag. They prove all that the socialists claimed, and more. The Social Democrats, with 600,000 votes, elected 7 representatives; the Centrists, with 502,000, elected 104; the Conservatives, with 350,000, elected 152; the Free Conservatives, with 63,000, elected 60. Taking all parties into consideration, the Social Democrats cast more than 27 per cent of the vote, and elected less than 2 per cent of the representatives.

And now the Prussian government has promised to introduce a new electoral law before the month is out. It will probably offer few advantages over the old one, but, at least, it will afford opportunity for a fight. It was this fight that the party congress prepared for. With the utmost enthusiasm a resolution was adopted pledging the party to use any means, even the political strike, to force the government to grant the "universal, secret and equal ballot."

JAPAN. The Growth of Capitalism and the Suppression of Socialism. It is seldom that the outside world hears news of Japanese socialism; and the scant items that reach us are at best but suggestive of the teeming capitalist life of the newest capitalist nation. A recently devised press law empowers the government to seize manuscripts and dismantle printing establishments. Comrade S. J. Katayama, who represented Japan at the Stuttgart Congress, fights heroically to bring out editions of Socialist News. Occasionally, a copy reaches this country with a few notes in English, and it is thus that we learn of the movement in Japan.

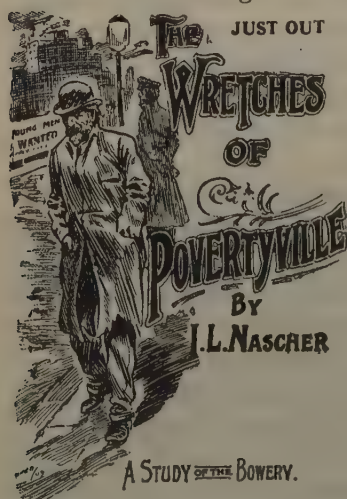
The August and September numbers tell a story very familiar

to American ears—a story of increasing taxation, unemployment and strikes. There are, also, statistics to show the growth of capitalism. For example, the number of very wealthy persons is increasing by leaps and bounds, very much as it did in this country fifty years ago. Capitalism, growing self-conscious, is attempting to stamp out socialism at the very start. The persecution of the Socialist News is, unfortunately, not an isolated case. Sekai-Fujin, a socialist woman's paper, has been absolutely suppressed. Nimpoa, the organ of the Chinese socialists of Tokio, has suffered a like fate. This last piece of barbarity was committed at the request of the Chinese government, and it is understood that Japanese capitalists were given valuable concessions in return for it.

ENGLAND. The Election. As the Review goes to press this month election returns are beginning to come from England. Indications are that the Liberals will return to the government, but with a reduced majority. The Social-Democrats are making a heroic independent fight in a few constituencies. The Laborites appear, for the most part, to have lost their identity in the public mind. In the campaign they have exerted all their force for a Liberal measure and so had no right to expect anything else.

The Wretches of Povertyville

A Sociological Study of the Bowery (illustrated)



By I. L. NASCHER, M. D.

Every page of this vivid book by Dr. Nascher gives the reader a glimpse into the inner life of the New York Underworld. But he sees not with the eyes of the judge nor the critic but with a warm sympathy and understanding of the social and economic laws which make necessary a Red Light District.

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WORLD OF LABOR



BY MAX S. HAYES

Whenever some newspaper reporter is "shy" of copy and is at his wits' end what to turn in at the city editor's desk he becomes imbued, apparently, with the notion that a labor party is forming somewhere that threatens to sweep the country, from one end to the other. Thus we learn from Washington that a labor party is about to be precipitated upon an unsuspecting public, which is to stand independent of all other parties in the field. Via Boston we hear that everything has been cut and dried between Sam Gompers and prominent Socialists to turn the S. P. over to the former gentleman to be used in punishing and rewarding politicians in the old parties. From Chicago comes the news that the miners are about to launch a new labor party that has nothing else to do but march to victory. Far away in San Francisco a plan is being hatched to expand McCarthy's Union Labor party to encompass the state and the nation. In many other less important localities the labor party issue is duly noted and amplified.

But the trouble is that while there may be considerable talk—or hot air—behind these announcements, there is actually little or nothing doing. And it is also curious to note that quite a number of ordinarily well-balanced members of the Socialist party have placed stock in these rumors and immediately raised a hubbub. Some of those Reds who are members of trades unions and were in the Socialist movement before the S. P. was born have been regarded with more or less suspicion as being in some sort of a conspiracy, along with certain pestiferous "intellectuals," to scuttle the S. P. ship and go down the gang-plank, bag and baggage, to this so-called labor party, which doesn't exist except in the fancy of newspaper dopesters.

Where is this apparition, and, more important, what does it stand for if it does exist? At the Toronto A. F. of L. convention "Charley" Dold, of the piano and organ workers, introduced a resolution, along the lines of the request of the

Women's Trade Union League, proposing that a start be made to form a labor party. The resolution was reported unfavorably by the committee that had it in charge, and not a word was spoken on the subject, not even by the author.

The fact is, as I have tried to point out before in this department, that the industrial leaders have their hands full of work and worry without engaging in the herculean undertaking of promoting a labor party. Is anybody possessed of the hallucination that the only thing necessary to do to form a political party that will inspire confidence and bring recruits is to call a convention, pass a few resolutions, clap your hands together and ride into power? Forget it! The history of the S. P. proves that it is a hard, uphill fight, day and night, year in and out, to arouse the working class, to cut loose the party slaves from the G. O. P. and the D. O. P., and to make even a fairly respectable showing at the ballot-box. Sam Gompers and all his friends know this, and they are not hustling overtime to find more work to do.

Aside from the daily duties that the heads of the international unions are compelled to perform, that keep their noses at the grindstone almost constantly, how many men are there in the trades organizations, actually, who could go out into the field, take the platform and deliver addresses upon economic and political problems, and stand a fair chance of securing hearers and winning recruits? You can count them upon the fingers of your two hands. The reason is plain. The average worker is more interested in who is going to win this year's pennant or the next prize fight than who will be in control at Washington or in the State legislature.

The thing for the Socialist party members to do is to stick to their knitting and cease worrying about ghosts. The S. P. has got the inside track—it is THE labor party. Its organization is stronger than it ever has been, the sentiments for its principles are more widespread than they ever were, and the in-

telligence, enthusiasm, ambition and solidarity is better than it ever was. Go ahead and distribute literature, hold meetings and keep pounding for the great cause. The world hates a quitter!

There will be no relaxation in the struggle between the seamen of the Great Lakes and the United States Steel Corporation and its puppet, the Lake Carriers' Association, during the coming season. The unionists are bending every effort at present to strengthen their organization, while the trust managers are not idle in the matter of attempting to entice marine workers into their "welfare plan" and making a big splurge when the navigation season opens.

It must be admitted that the trust was fairly successful last year in doing business on the open shop basis, although it was done at the expense of the greatest cost of life and property in the history of marine transportation on the inland seas. But the insurance companies paid the freight so far as property was concerned, and as for the loss of life—well, human life is as cheap as water to these modern pirates. If a lot of strike-breakers were sent into Davy Jones' locker another bunch stood ready to fill their places.

Some literary genius like Jack London could add to his laurels mightily if he would take the time and trouble to contrast the modern buccaneers of the high seas with those of old and exposed the degeneracy of present-day piracy. Captain Kidd, Morgan, Drake and the other old-time robbers of whom we used to read in yellow-backs as kids were at least possessed of some virtues. They risked their own lives and divided goodly portions of their loot with their followers under the black flag. But your modern pirate takes no chances of endangering his own precious carcass. He resides in a mansion, surrounded by every luxury that he may desire, and issues orders from an elegant office in a skyscraper to the pleasant music of a typewriter and ticker, and lo! and behold, an army of galley-slaves bring him myrrh, gold and diamonds and are content to subsist upon soup and live in a crummy bed-house.

Perhaps some day the workers of the sea, who risk their lives to go out and gather treasure for trust magnates, will think a little more of themselves and their rights and interests and a little less of their capitalistic exploiters. The

seaman (and other workers, for that matter) are much like the hungry pelicans that the Chinese use to obtain food for them. The Chinks slip a ring over the neck of the bird and it dives for fish which it cannot swallow after they are caught, but is rewarded with the bones after its prey has satisfied the hunger of its master.

Be a good pelican, or a good ox or horse or wage-slave, and your loyalty will be duly recognized in some sort of a "Hell-fare" plan prepared by the modern robber class.

The struggle against the steel trust, which has taken the leadership of the open shop forces, is on in earnest. In accordance with the action taken at the recent Pittsburg conference of labor officials, a call for funds has been issued by the A. F. of L. and a corps of organizers has been thrown into the iron and steel manufacturing centers.

While the annual statement issued by the steel trust was claimed to be satisfactory to the magnates, and while the combine has had fairly good success in operating its struck tinplate plants during the past few months, it is nevertheless true that a favorable sentiment toward organization is growing among the mill workers and that the steel barons are quite nervous at the outlook. They had hoped that the unionists would abandon the fight after a few months of struggle, but the stubborn attitude of the workers is an annoying revelation to them, and they feel quite insecure as they contemplate the future.

The Amalgamated Association officials have become convinced that the industrial form of organization is necessary if any headway is to be made against the octopus, and they are desirous of bringing every worker, from the most skilled mechanic to the day laborer, within the union fold. The strong battle put up in the Wheeling district, at New Castle, Anderson and several other places has not only inspired the unionists, but the non-union workers in mills elsewhere.

There is one thing that the officers and organizers cannot do and hope for success, and that is to go about with a brass band or announce their plans from the housetops. They must proceed quietly and secretly for the time being—in a word, adopt the tactics of the enemy. Individual workmen should be visited and taken into the union with-



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out the knowledge of any other workmen, and then when all, or nearly all, have become members it is time enough to show their hands.

In conversation with a man who knows the inside of the steel trust better than many of the magnates themselves, a few days ago, he informed me that the spies of the combine have been instructed to redouble their efforts to discover any and every sign of "disloyalty," and no mercy will be shown to those workers who display sympathy for the union cause. If either a public gathering or a meeting behind barred and bolted doors is held spies will be in it and men who attend will be marked, called upon the carpet, discharged and blacklisted. As many different nationalities as possible are also being herded in the mills in order to keep them fighting among themselves. In one plant alone, my informant says, there are fully thirty different nationalities employed and all are incited to become suspicious of each other.

It's an uphill task to establish a homogeneous organization with such timber, but it must be done and the union officials have decided to do it. They deserve the unqualified support of every honest man and woman and disputes regarding industrial policies or political views should not be injected into this movement.

The strike of the Western Federation of Miners at the Homestake mine bids fair to become another one of those long, hard contests which have made that body famous throughout the world. As in other strikes, the mine operators are really the aggressors. The miners simply demand the right to organize, which right is supposed to be enjoyed by the workers as well as corporationists. But the latter are possessed with the monarchial belief that labor is a natural-born slave, with the freedom, however, of running from boss to boss to look for a job or starve.

Undoubtedly the miners will fight to a finish rather than surrender their organization. They are in a much better condition today, numerically and financially, than they were eight years ago. Their union is more widely known and enjoys a greater amount of sympathy and support than when the Colorado war began. Besides, the alliance that is being perfected with the coal miners will serve to add strength to the Western men as well as to the former, and there

is general good feeling toward the W. F. of M. among the other organized trades. All that helps.

The United Hatters' latest financial showing indicates that that organization is rapidly recovering its old-time strength despite the enormous expense it has been put to in the Lowe boycott case and the lockout forced upon them by the Hat Manufacturers' Association. Secretary Lawlor says that all indebtedness has been canceled, all benefits paid and comfortable balances remain in the treasury from month to month. There are about a dozen concerns still standing out for the open shop, but the number of persons on strike continue to dwindle until only about a thousand are left.

A curious strike took place at Norwalk, Conn., where an open shop was being operated in a way by strike-breakers. The latter gradually had their wages reduced 25 per cent and became rebellious. The "agitators" were singled out and discharged, and one morning the strike-breakers nearly mobbed the foreman and walked out. Then new strike-breakers were brought in to break the strike of the old strike-breakers. The latter gained little sympathy from anybody, and least of all from the open shop bosses whose dirty work they had been doing. But the idea of scabs scabbing on scabs is quite novel, and not only shows to what moral depths some human beings have been driven, but also exposes the hypocrisy of the open shoppers, who have been pretending that they are the great friends and champions of non-union labor.

One of the most labor-crushing concerns in the country has met a deserved fate. The Werner Co., of Akron, O., the largest publishing house in the country, has been driven into bankruptcy after four years of battle with the printers' unions. The Werners pulled down a bank at Cleveland with them and if the depositors receive 50 cents on the dollar they will be lucky. The Werner loss is over \$1,000,000 and the plant will undoubtedly be swept out of their hands. Fighting labor is an expensive business when labor returns the fire.

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HISTORY OF THE GREAT AMERICAN FORTUNES, by Gustavus Myers, Vol. I. Chas. H. Kerr & Company, 118 Kinzie street, Chicago. Cloth, \$1.50. A pleasant fiction to a large extent still possesses official economic science today. If the bourgeois economist is forced to admit that capitalist society is a wretched botch, he will at least comfort himself with the reflection that bad as things are the old regimes of open plunder and force do not and have not tainted capitalism in America. In other words, that the first forms of capital ("primitive accumulation," as Marx calls it) had their origin in the hard work of far-sighted men who accumulated or saved sufficient "capital" to enable them to establish some business, and by a rigid observance of "thrift," "industry" and other virtues, they acquired fortunes, developed industries and thus brought about the capitalist system of production. This is pleasant fiction, but bad history. When Marx said that capital came into the world "dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt," the statement applied to this country as well as England and the Continent.

Gustavus Myers' history (Vol. 1) throws some light on primitive accumulation in this country. Marx has already called attention to the fact that forcible expropriation of the workers from the soil is essential to the rise of capital, and Myers has shown how this expropriation took place in America. Immense tracts of land were given to chartered companies of adventurers and court favorites by British kings, these grants also conferring feudal powers on the receivers, making them masters over extensive domains. Grant after grant of virgin soil was taken from under the feet of the workers, while in the home country the bloody legislation of parliament was crowding British shores with helpless, jobless, pauperized laborers who constituted an excellent supply of white bond and slave labor for

the landed patrons in the colonies. Royal governors in the colonies continued the process of seizing the land and passing it over to favorites for bribes. Kidnaping children in European ports, transforming their parents into vagrants and criminals, and then transporting these to the colonies as indentured or bond slaves, fixing wages of the "free" laborers by law and imprisoning them for debt when occasion required, while the good Puritan man of God transformed Africa into a bloody shambles to supply the big landed proprietors of the South with black slave labor.

Having thus expropriated the workers by force and secured the enforced labor of whites and blacks, the remaining steps in the process of "original accumulations" was easy. Property qualifications for voting and holding office placed the governing powers securely in the hands of the great landed interests, who later shared their power with a commercial and money aristocracy. Political sovereignty naturally accompanied economic conquest. Lo, the poor Indian, was introduced to rum by his Christian neighbors, who were generally agents of the land proprietors, and when he recovered from his stupor he found that he had been cheated or traded out of his furs or land. Lo sometimes went on the war-path and tomahawked some of the swindlers and their kin, but the Indian gradually gave way to the advance of "civilization." Myers thinks that these practices of fraud, theft and the use of force were pointed to by many pirates in justification of their piracy. He quotes the speech of a pirate captain who, in addressing the captain of a captured sloop, said: "Damn ye altogether * * * for a pack of crafty rascals. * * * They villify us, the scoundrels do, when there is only this difference; they rob the poor under the cover of law, forsooth, and we plunder the rich under cover of our own courage."

With the resources of production and

the laboring population fairly under control is it surprising that whole states passed into the hands of a few men or that rebellions should arise among the enslaved workers. The facts cited by Myers are convincing, while it is evident that his work has been patient and thorough. In tracing the rise of the Astor fortune his analysis is exhaustive. It is a record of bribery, force, fraud and swindle, the victims being the Indians, the government, employees and rivals of the founder, John Jacob Astor, whose descendants continued the process of "accumulation" in a more or less refined way with the development of society. This first volume gives promise that those that are to follow will be as illuminating and instructive. The entire work should prove an armory of facts for workingmen, historic facts that may be presented to those apologists of today who teach us reverence for "law and order." J. O.

The Mills of Mammon, by James H. Brower, illustrated, in cloth, \$1.50 post-paid, published by J. H. Murry & Co., Joliet, Ill. When we received a copy of *The Mills of Mammon* for review, every person employed in the office of this company wanted to be the first to read this book. It looked vitally interesting and when one of us started on the first page that person had to be pried away from the book, if he or she failed to finish it at one sitting. One and all we were carried away by the story of the splendid, living men and women Comrade Brower portrayed and yielded ourselves to the fascination of that book.

We did not have to urge our friends to read *The Mills of Mammon*. They fairly fell over each other in their eagerness to borrow the book. If a clerk took the book home one evening, she returned next day with a plea that she be permitted to allow her brother to read it and it would not be long till she would present requests from her friends and neighbors to borrow it.

We all have to yield the palm to Comrade Brower. He has produced the book that the movement has long been waiting for, the book that grips Socialists and non-Socialists alike and causes them to lay down the book with a wish that it were longer and an earnest hope that he will continue to contribute to the living proletarian literature of our time.

The portion of the story dealing with the white slave traffic is by far the best contribution we have seen in that line. Read this book; buy an extra copy and

lend it to your friends. It will do more to open their eyes to the evils of capitalism than a hundred lectures can ever do.

The Conquest of the Isthmus, by Hugh C. Weir, beautifully illustrated, published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y. "The public has been deluged with the commercial and mechanical details of the Panama Canal, and these have tended to swamp its human interest. But the real story of the stirring features of the romantic battle with the Panama jungle that is being waged by Uncle Sam's khaki army on the border line of civilization has never been presented. It is with the human interest of this canal story that this volume is chiefly concerned—with the men who have rubbed elbows with death from almost every angle and in almost every guise in order that the American nation might win the greatest industrial victory in the history of the world."

Mr. Wier says: "The Panama Canal never will be dug by machinery alone. Beyond the steam shovels and the dirt trains, beyond the air-drillers and the dredges, the union of the Atlantic and the Pacific depends upon the men who are giving health, wealth and life in the battle with the tropical jungle. It is of these men, the khaki heroes of the wilderness, of whom I would tell."

Every reader of the Review who is watching with interest the splendid feats of modern engineering will find a wealth of information in this new book by Mr. Weir. In a later number we may be able to give our readers a few interesting facts upon the Panama Canal and the stupendous task this small army of working men has set itself to perform. Mr. Weir's book is the most comprehensive and satisfying we have seen upon the Conquest of the Isthmus.

THE AWAKENING OF SPRING, a tragedy of Childhood, by Frank Wedekind, published by Brown Bros., Philadelphia, Pa. Frank Wedekind's name is just beginning to be heard in America. In Germany he has been recognized for some time as one of the leaders in the new art of the theatre. Naturally enough, his plays are too outspoken in their realism to appeal to all his fellow countrymen. Wedekind has a habit of using the news of the day as material for plays, just as the old English dramatists did when they wrote "domestic tragedies."

That it is a fatal error to bring up

children, whether boys or girls, in ignorance of their sexual nature is the thesis of Frank Wedekind's drama, *The Awakening of Spring*. From its title one might suppose it a peaceful little idyl of the youth of the year. No idea could be more mistaken. It is a tragedy of frightful import, and its action is concerned with the development of natural instincts in the adolescent of both sexes.

Mr. Wedekind has attacked his theme with European frankness; but of plot, in the usual acceptance of the term, there is little. Instead of the coherent drama of conventional type, Wedekind has given us a series of loosely connected scenes illuminative of character—scenes which surely have profound significance for all occupied in the training of the young. He sets before us a group of school children, lads and lassies just past the age of puberty, and shows logically that death and degradation may be their lot as the outcome of parental reticence. They are not vicious children, but little ones such as we meet every day, imaginative being living in a world of youthful ideals and speculating about the mysteries which surround them.

Wendla, sent to her grave by the abortive administered with the connivance of her affectionate but mistaken mother, is a most lovable creature, while Melchior, the father of her unborn child, is a high type of boy whose downfall is due to a philosophic temperament, which leads him to inquire into the nature of life and to impart his knowledge to others; a temperament which, under proper guidance, would make him a useful, intelligent man. It is Melchior's very excellence of character which proves his undoing. That he should be imprisoned as a moral degenerate only serves to illustrate the stupidity of his parents and teachers. As for the suicide of Moritz, the imaginative youth who kills himself because he has failed in his examinations, that is another crime for which the dramatist makes false educational methods responsible.

The publication of this volume by Brown Bros., is one of the dramatic events of several seasons. Those of us who prefer realism to the cheap and tawdry sentimentalism will feel a debt of gratitude to the publishers as well as to Francis J. Ziegler, who has translated the work so artistically. The play is a mental treat to every intelligent man and woman.

THE EVOLUTION OF PROPERTY.

Many comrades will be grateful to learn that Paul Lafargue's "*The Evolution of Property, from Savagery to Civilization*," has been made available in a cheap edition published by Chas. H. Kerr and Company. This work originally appeared as a series of articles in a French review nearly twenty years ago. The merit of the work has been attested by its translation into German, Italian, Polish, and English, there having been at least three editions of the latter by a London publisher which sold in this country for one dollar a copy. The Kerr edition sells for just half that price, which places it within easy reach of workingmen. The work will prove welcome to workingmen interested in the historical conditions that have clustered around the institution of property and the economic status of the workers in history.

The author traces the evolution of property from its first beginnings in primitive communism, through family communism and feudalism, to modern capitalism. To those political economists who speak of capital as eternal, and whose zeal to defend it has led them to search for it outside the human species, he says: "It is a pity that they should not have gone a step farther and affirmed that, if the ant lays up stores, she does so with a view to sell the same and realize a profit by the circulation of her capital." But the author does not rely on sarcasm alone. He draws on history to show the sophistry and perversion of facts employed by official economists in defense of modern capital. His portrayal of the solidarity, mutual aid, and fellowship that developed with common property in lands, flocks, and the fruits of the chase, form a bright contrast with the sordid and contemptible property-ethics of today.

The different forms of feudal property, the obligations of its owners to the serfs and the latter to their masters, the breakup of feudalism, the development of capital and the transformation of the serf into a wage laborer, are admirably treated considering the wide range of history covered and the limit of discussion imposed by 160 pages. To the workingman with little leisure and a desire to know the processes by which the present system of property came to be, no better work can be recommended than this book of Lafargue's. J. O.

NEWS & VIEWS

SPLENDID REPORTS are coming in of the good work being done by Comrade James Oneal, at Terre Haute, Ind., in



his lectures on American History. We have not yet heard, however, that the school board is considering using his method in the public schools. The class consciousness of the servants of capitalism is really remarkable.

COMRADE WALLING. William English Walling is now a member of the Socialist Party, by unanimous vote of the local at Stamford, Conn., his home. The fact is of importance merely because a Wisconsin paper has been attacking him on the ground that he is an outsider. He authorizes us to deny for him the statement of that paper that he described himself as "half Socialist, half Anarchist," and to say that he believes it to be a conscious perversion of the truth.

THE OAKLAND WORLD. Every time we see a number of the Oakland World we feel like sending a message of congratulation to the comrades upon the Coast. Straight from the shoulder it teaches class conscious revolutionary Socialism. We have never yet found the Oakland World compromising in any way. If you do not take it, send for a sample copy—The Oakland World, Oakland, Calif.

BANQUET AT MUNCIE, IND. The W. G. Co. gave a glorious entertainment to its 700 employees last month. Nearly all the men participated. They were served with refreshments and cigars and then the "dividends were distributed" among those who had worked faithfully for a year. The longer and harder they had worked, the more they received. Men got all the way from \$9.00 to \$66.00. The foremen and straw bosses made short speeches. One said, "We are the men who do the work, but we need the company to back us with their money. We must work hand in hand with the company." Another said "Let us all put the shoulder to the wheel." With one exception, all tried to impress upon us that the interests of Capital and Labor are identical. The man who went out of his way to speak for us said in part: "The only way the workers can get anything is by standing together." The Superintendent promised to give a "blow out" like that every "now and then." And he said furthermore, while he bowed to the array of hungry looking proletarians: I am glad I can look a bunch of men in the face who can produce so vast a number of commodities at so low a cost to the company. He said that was why he could compete with his competitors successfully. I wonder if the workers will ever wake up to a realization of the fact that superintendents as well as stockholders are living in luxury upon the wealth produced by the workers!

E. S. NELSON.

FROM A MINER. The class struggle for the proletarian is intertwined and co-existent with his struggle for existence, of which, indeed, it forms a part in the necessary struggle for more bread and meat.—R. M. HUMPHREY.

GONE TO SPOKANE: Word reaches us that Mrs. Beulah B. Hyde and Eleanor M. Herman, of Buckley, Wash., have gone to Spokane to help their comrades in the fight for free speech.

LETTER FROM UNTERMANN. In reply to your letter of November 30th, I take pleasure in stating that I should vote and work for a stronger and more effective Socialist Party, if I were elected to the N. E. C. But feeling that the majority of the membership of the Socialist Party will follow the lead of the New York Call, the Chicago Daily Socialist, the Socialdemocratic Herald, and that I should either not be elected to the N. E. C. or, if elected, be in a hopeless minority in that committee, I did not accept the nomination. If the majority of the present membership of the Socialist Party vote to merge this party in a Union Labor Party, then I have come to the parting of the way. The party would then no longer represent the principles for which I stand. Under such circumstances a reorganization would become inevitable. I should then join with other comrades of the same conviction in building up a new Socialist Party.

A National Union Labor Party will no doubt be launched sooner or later. In this party, the Socialists will be the minority. Consequently the policy of this party will necessarily be a confused reformism, which will offer fine grafting opportunities to capitalist politicians, but which will probably choke the sincere Socialists to death. On the other hand, if the propaganda of Socialism should be free in this Labor Party, then the Socialists would be limited to the policy of "boring from within," a policy which they have pursued for a generation in the A. F. of L. If these comrades now feel that they made a mistake in organizing a Socialist Party, and that they should rather have "bored" for a Labor Union Party, I can sympathize with them, but I shall not go with them.

If the A. F. of L. were the only bona fide labor organization in this country, and if it were not dominated by labor leaders hostile to Socialism, then a political co-operation between the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party would be possible, or even inevitable. But even then I should insist on the independent and unhampered organization of the Socialist Party as a consciously revolutionary body. I shall do so all the more now, because there are other bona fide labor organizations in this country, and because these organizations are not dominated by confused reactionaries, like the A. F. of L., but by conscious revolutionists. If a Union Labor Party signified the political co-operation of the Social-

ist Party, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, the I. W. W., then I might feel safe in taking such a step. But it does not signify a political co-operation of class-conscious labor bodies. It rather signifies the surrender of class-conscious Socialists to the reactionary majority of the A. F. of L. I shall not join in this surrender.

The most significant, and to me decisive, point is that this sentiment for a National Union Labor Party originates, not with the old-style labor leaders, but with some Socialists in the A. F. of L. and some editors and writers of the Socialist Party, who are in touch with a few advanced sections of the A. F. of L. I can readily see that the Socialist leaders of the United Mine Workers, of the brewers, of the metal workers, and of a few advanced locals of the printers and cigar makers, could be elected by a Labor Party and gain some influence in a few state legislatures and in congress. But what is true of a few states and cities, is not true for the whole country. On the contrary. In most states and cities, a Union Labor Party would elect capitalist politicians, as it has done in recent years on the Pacific Coast. A consistent and uninterrupted co-operation between socialist and reactionary politicians is impossible. Socialists elected on a Labor Party ticket would often find it necessary to dissent from their purely reformist colleagues, or to compromise on points of principle. If they dissent and act independently, they will be unable to get any support for their bills. They might as well have staid in the Socialist Party, laid the principal emphasis upon the agitation of socialist principles, and waited until the Socialist Party was strong enough to elect them with a backing of class-conscious workers.

No doubt the comrades advocating a labor party at the expense of the Socialist Party are actuated by the theory that every reform carried through by even a purely reformist labor movement will hasten the speed of the social revolution and will tend to transform the reform movement into a revolutionary one. This may be generally true. But I would rather be elected by the class-conscious workers of the Socialist Party, free to co-operate with the representatives of the Labor Party whenever co-operation is possible, free to decline the responsibility for doubtful measures, free to refuse any compromise of principle, than

to be elected on a labor ticket subject to a majority of voters controlled by reactionaries, or controlled by minds unconscious of their historical mission as a class.

Comrades elected on a Union Labor ticket in Wisconsin would be backed by a socialist membership in the state, but comrades elected on such a ticket in California would be the victims of old party grafters. And comrades elected to Congress on such a ticket would be in the same uncomfortable position.

I can readily understand that the Socialists favoring a Union Labor Party hope to get a backing for national elections which they cannot obtain on a straight Socialist ticket. But even this strikes me as a poor excuse for taking a step backward towards a Labor Party, and doing it uninvited and voluntarily, even before the less advanced labor bodies have been driven to this point of development.

The election of a few members of state legislatures and of Congress does not seem worth such a willing surrender. And the election of a man like the labor mayor of San Francisco to the position of President of the United States, by the help of Socialist votes, would be a pitiful and abject self emasculation. A Socialist in the cabinet of such a President would be a humbug.

So far as the Socialist consciousness does not control the labor movement of the United States, a Union Labor Party will no doubt be the next step in the development of the political ideas of the American working class. But why should Socialists voluntarily abdicate before such a party? The Socialist Party has so far performed mainly the functions of a propaganda organization. It

can continue its educational function just as effectively even after the less advanced laborers have been driven to the organization of a Labor Party. The desertion of comrades favoring a Labor Party may weaken the Socialist Party momentarily, especially if the deserters carry with them the national party machinery and the papers which we have helped to build up. But this desertion will be amply compensated by new forces that will join us, and many will withdraw their support from the press of the deserters and assist in the building up of a bona fide Socialist press. And in a few years the Socialist Party will be so much better for the desertion of those who incline more toward the work of practical reform politics than towards the propaganda of revolutionary principles. It will be merely a question of a division of labor between different sections of the working class, which will co-operate in proportion as the social development shall compel them to do so.

The Socialist Party and the Labor Party can march separately. They can fight the common enemy unitedly whenever a common battle field is reached. And we shall all meet for good at the gate of the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

—ERNEST UNTERMANN.

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THE LAND AMENDMENT. I do not understand why certain comrades will insist upon misrepresenting the land amendment. Some have constantly tried to get people to believe that it stands for the private ownership of land. All you have to do to find out that such statements are false is to read the amendment. It directly asserts the public's superior title to all land. It also demands the collective possession, control or management of land to whatever extent is necessary to stop exploitation and speculation. And it only permits private occupation and possession of land by those using it in a useful and bona fide manner without exploitation.

What more could any Socialist want? Collective management is not the object of Socialism. The object of Socialism is to abolish exploitation. Collective management is merely the means to that end. Therefore, we only need collective management to whatever extent is necessary to abolish exploitation. A person who does not assent to the foregoing propositions is not a scientific Socialist. He may be a communist, or a utopian Socialist, or an anarchist, but he is not a scientific Socialist. The land amendment is in the most complete accord with scientific Socialism. It is in accord with the best scientific Socialist thought of the age. It agrees exactly with the views of Kautsky and Vandervelde, for example.—**JOHN M. WORK.**

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Local Longmont, of the S. P., sends us an enthusiastic report of their meeting in which the Local comrades sent resolutions of sympathy and encouragement to the comrades engaged in the free speech fight in Spokane. The great spirit of solidarity that causes comrades in one locality to hold indignation meetings, to raise funds and send men and women to aid in a working class battle of any kind is spreading round the world. Gradually we are beginning to feel, with the comrades in Longmont, that an injury to one is an injury to all.

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What We Did Last Month

December was the greatest month in the whole history of the Review. Its cash receipts of \$1,487.60 were considerably more than half of our receipts for the year 1907. In less than two years our circulation has jumped from 4,000 monthly to 22,000. We have made a few enemies and a host of friends.

Our increase in book sales has been less spectacular but it has been steady. We have been adding to our list a number of new books and new editions of Socialist classics that are simply indispensable to any one who wants a working Socialist library, and now that we have entered on a campaign year, a big increase in book sales is certain. Here are the December figures:

Receipts.	Expenditures.
Cash balance, December 1.....\$ 309.84	Manufacture of books\$ 769.94
Book sales 1,975.73	Books purchased 15.87
Review subscriptions and sales. 1,341.63	Printing December Review 553.57
Review advertising 145.97	Review articles, drawings, etc.. 55.00
Sales of stock 175.50	Wages of office clerks..... 464.25
Loans from stockholders 100.00	M. E. Marcy, on salary 80.00
O. E. Samuelson, for Swedish	Charles H. Kerr, on salary 100.00
strikers 1.00	Postage and expressage 527.15
Donations: H. R. Kearns..... 1.00	Interest 12.00
	Rent 70.00
	Miscellaneous expenses 67.20
	Advertising 688.17
	Copyrights 37.70
	Loans repaid 424.23
	Swedish strikers 1.00
	Cash balance, December 31..... 184.59
<u>\$4,050.67</u>	<u>\$4,050.67</u>

Our book sales for the year 1909 were \$20,992.05, the Review's receipts for the year \$10,913.54, donations \$1,003.15, and sales of stock \$2,300.00.

On January 1, 1910, the total capital stock of the publishing house was \$31,290.00, and the total borrowed capital \$11,779.08. At the annual meeting, January 15, 1910, the directors unanimously accepted

a proposition from Charles H. Kerr by which he personally assumes all liability for a loan of \$3,400 made some years ago by Alexander Kerr to the publishing house, and accepts stock in return for it. This increases the capital stock to \$34,690.00 and reduces the borrowed capital to \$8,379.08.

Over a hundred comrades have subscribed for shares of stock on which they are paying installments, and when these have received their certificates the total number of shares issued will be about 2,600, out of a total number authorized by our charter of 5,000. Only 1,400 more shares, therefore, are for sale.

For a little longer these will be sold for cash at the former price of \$10.00 a share, but to any one paying in monthly installments of \$1.00 each, the price will be \$11.00. We reserve the right to advance these figures again in the near future.

The stock draws no dividends, but each share carries with it the valuable privilege of buying books issued by this publishing house at forty per cent. discount, sent prepaid to any address. Thus any one buying books to the amount of \$2.00 a month would save the price of a share in about a year, anyone buying a full set of our books will save the price of a share several times over.

Our correspondence indicates that there are several hundred comrades who fully intend to become stockholders but have been putting it off. The sale of the shares now in the treasury will pay off every dollar of debt and provide enough working capital to double our business in 1910. There is and will be ample value back of every share; we passed the stage of experiment long ago. We want your help, not to save us from failure, but to ensure a bigger success.

NEW BOOKS NOW READY.

The Poverty of Philosophy, by Karl Marx, is the most important of his works which has up to now been out of the reach of American readers. We have just published it in the handsome form of the International Library of Social Science, at \$1.00.

The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue, has for years had a steady sale in the imported edition at a dollar a copy. We now have it in neat cloth binding at 50 cents.

Social and Philosophical Studies, also by Paul Lafargue, is now in its fourth edition. The third edition was closed out by a phenomenal sale of 250 copies to the audience of Arthur M. Lewis at the Garrick theatre, Chicago, and the lecturer starts us on the fourth edition with an order for 250 more. Cloth, 50 cents.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lock-out is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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